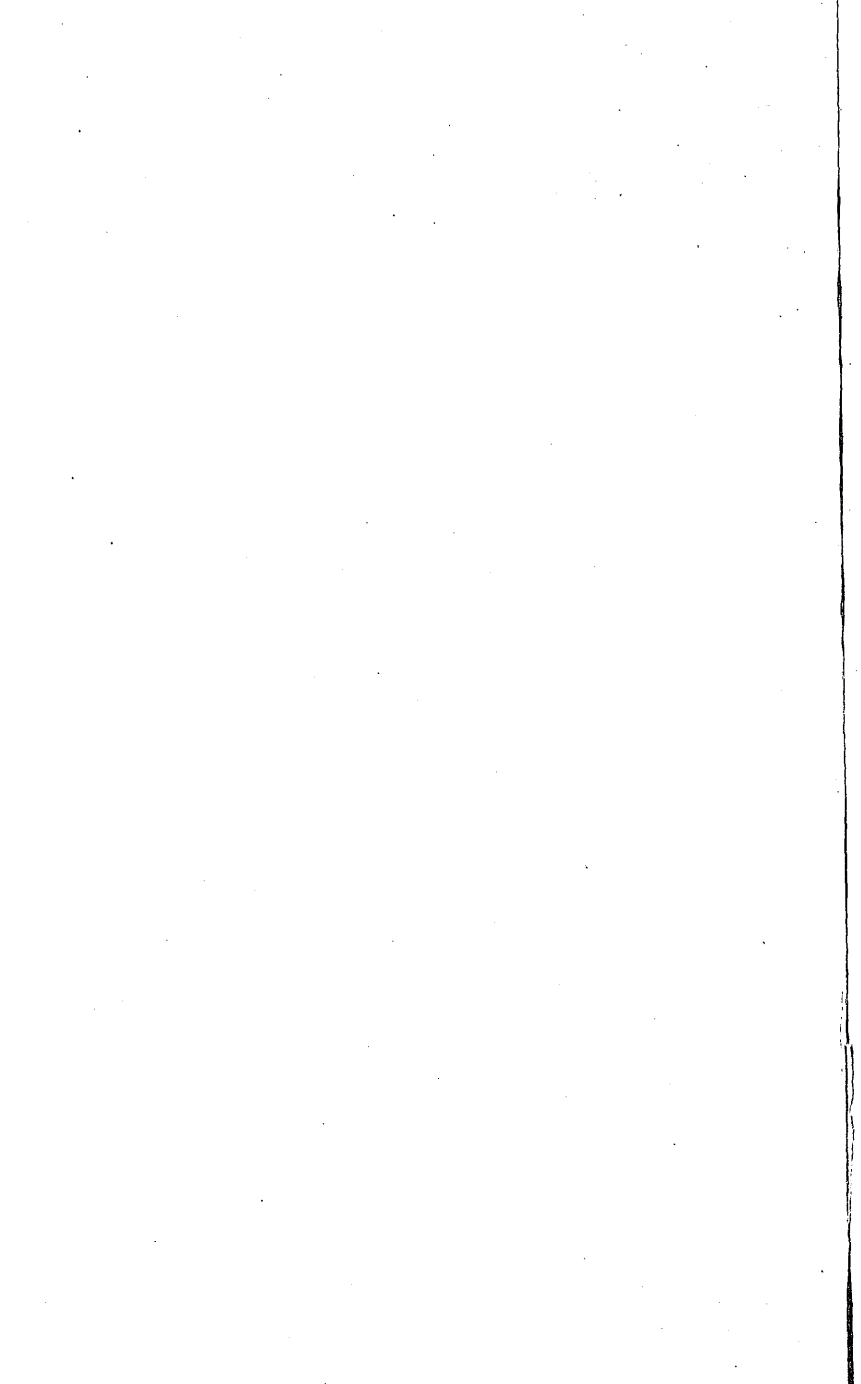




Gift of
JOSEPH M. KITAGAWA



MONOGRAPHS IN CHURCH HISTORY

Volume II

Edited by

Matthew Spinka

Robert Hastings Nichols

American Contacts with the
Eastern Churches,
1820--1870



By

P. E. SHAW

Ph. D. (Edin.)

Professor of Early Church History
Hartford Theological Seminary.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY
CHICAGO, ILL.

BV 3142
553
C. 2

Copyright, 1937, by
The American Society of Church History
Chicago, Illinois
All rights reserved.



PREFACE

The present work had its beginnings in a study of the history of Anglican approaches to the Eastern Churches during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. It was then found that for a considerable period the American branch of Anglicanism had been more active in this respect than the Church of England, and that not the Episcopal Church alone but other bodies of American Christians as well had had extensive contacts with Eastern Christendom. Moreover, it appeared that for a number of years the American effort had been scarcely affected by corresponding movements elsewhere, constituting rather a distinct episode and one entitled to separate and exhaustive treatment.

The history of American and Eastern church relations during those early years is the subject of this volume. The material on which it depends is found in more countries than one and oftentimes in publications, few copies of which are still extant. For this reason it has been thought advisable to make use of numerous and at times extensive quotations from these, as well as to make accessible in appendices certain relevant documents. The effort has been made throughout to reproduce the sources exactly, including any peculiarities of detail. This will account for some inconsistency in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization to be noted in the text.

The few abbreviations are *Episcopal* for Protestant Episcopal; *A. B. C. F. M.* or *American Board* for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. For the sake of convenience the agents of the last named Board are sometimes referred to as "the American Missionaries", justification for which can be found in the contemporary documents used whether of Episcopal or Congregational origin. These also speak of the "Congregational missionaries", which is correct in that the American Board was mainly Congregational; but it was not wholly so,

as its missionaries included persons of other denominations. *Orthodox* is employed as the usual designation of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The name *Evangelical*, which is used to indicate both non-Episcopal denominations and the Protestant view in general, is the recognized name in the East for that type of religion. When used in this sense the word is capitalized. *America* and *American* are used as referring to the United States rather than to the American continent.

To the following I desire to express my special thanks: the editors of *The Spirit of Missions* and *The Missionary Herald* for permission to use freely their respective publications; to Professor R. H. Nichols of Auburn Theological Seminary for helpful comments on sections of this work; to Professor Matthew Spinka of Chicago Theological Seminary for devoting much care, patience, and understanding to the preparation of the manuscript for the press; and to my colleague, Dean Karl R. Stolz, of the Hartford School of Religious Education, for many helpful criticisms and practical suggestions.

CONTENTS

	Pages
Preface	i-ii
Table of Contents	iii
Chapter	
I INTRODUCTION	5-14
II THE GREEK MISSION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH	15-34
Appendix	
Report of the Rev. J. J. Robertson	171-188
III THE EPISCOPAL MISSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE	35-70
IV THE AMERICAN BOARD IN ITS RE- LATION TO THE EASTERN CHURCHES	71-108
Appendices	
Documents illustrating the policy of the American Board toward the Eastern Churches	
1. Report of a Missionary Conference at Smyrna, 1837	189-191
2. A Representative Missionary Opinion, 1835	191-193
3. Note re Instructions to the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, 1839	194
4. Resolutions on the "Leading Object of the Missions to the Oriental Churches"	194-195
V LESSER PROTESTANT EFFORTS	109-134
VI THE GREEK EVANGELICAL CHURCH	135-156
VII CONCLUSION	157-170
Bibliography	197-200
Index	201-208

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States which met in New York in the month of October, 1862, took a step destined to prove momentous. That Assembly was called upon to consider a problem confronting the Churchmen of California, a state as yet in its infancy¹, and still suffering from the reckless character of its settlement in 1848 and 1849.² So near was that day to the period of the early settlers, the "forty-niners," that one scarcely would have thought of connecting the place with any theological or ecclesiastical agitation; yet from that same region came the main impulse issuing in the modern movement in America toward an understanding with the Eastern churches.

At that gathering of 1862 the Rev. Dr. S. C. Thrall, rector of Holy Trinity, San Francisco, drew the attention of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to a peculiar and urgent situation in his remote parish. He found that there were many members of the Orthodox church in California, and between three and four hundred within the limits of his own parish and therefore under his pastoral care. Being without the ministrations of their own clergy it was their custom to attend his church; yet they shrank from participating in the Eucharist because the relations of the two communions had not as yet been officially defined. On the other hand there was every prospect that the Church of Russia would be meeting the situation by

1 California was annexed from Mexico in 1846, the first act in the War declared that year. It was recognized as a state of the Union in 1850.

2 James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1916), II, 426-430, on "The Character of California." The westward movement began in 1848, on the discovery of gold in California. From about ten thousand, the population grew within three years to over eighty thousand.

sending a Russian bishop to San Francisco, in which case there was a possibility that complications would arise with reference to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the rights of the new prelate. The Russians had already taken steps to build a church of their own and to organize themselves into a parish.³

Dr. Thrall now asked that a committee be appointed to investigate the problem and, more particularly, to make known to the Russians in California that the American Episcopal Church was indeed a part of the Catholic Church of Christ. The wording in the Journals of the Convention is as follows:

The Rev. Dr. Thrall offered the following Resolution . . . Whereas there are many members of the Russo-Greek Church emigrating to the Pacific shore of our country, to whom it is impossible to present the Church as a great and powerful part of the Catholic Church in such an attitude as will enable her the more readily to guide such immigrants in Christian faith and practice; therefore,

Resolved,—the House of Bishops concurring,—that a Joint Committee be appointed to open friendly intercourse with the Russo-Greek Church on this subject, and report to the next General Convention.⁴

After considerable discussion, the proposal was accepted unanimously and a committee was appointed.

In the meantime news had reached England that this subject was occupying the attention of the church in America, and before the close of the Convention a message was received in New York from Anglican authorities suggesting that the two branches of Anglicanism should work together toward the desired

³ *Journal of the Protestant Episcopal Convention* of 1862. Also that of 1865. In connection with the *Journal* of 1865 see especially pp. 325-342 for Appendix D, consisting of the Report of the Russo-Greek Committee.

A full account of the discussions at the Convention of 1862, with sundry minor but interesting details, may be found in the *Star of the East* of Athens, April 3, 1865.

⁴ The Resolution, as finally accepted, was as follows: "Resolved,—the House of Bishops concurring,—that a Joint Committee, consisting on the part of this House of five, be appointed to consider the expediency of communication with the Russo-Greek Church, to collect authentic information bearing on the subject, and to report to the next General Convention." *Journal*, 1862, 109. The House of Bishops was not unanimous, eleven voting for the Resolution, eight against.

end, and that there should be for this purpose a further special committee representing the two countries.⁵

That there should be united action on the part of the two branches of the Anglican church at this time was natural, because the Church of England also had been occupied for some time with the question of relations with the Eastern church. The latest phase of that question in England arose out of the proposed building and consecration of an Anglican church at Constantinople. There were those who felt that, unless official assurances and explanations were forthcoming, the act might be misinterpreted by the Orientals as one of hostility and as an invasion of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To anticipate such a contingency a representation dated April 15, 1856, was drawn up by Canon Wordsworth, later bishop of Lincoln, and was signed by eighteen members of the Lower House of Convocation. The document said:

The foundation of the proposed Church of Constantinople should be accompanied with a communication from this Synod, expressive of sentiments of Christian fellowship, to the Bishops and Clergy of the Eastern Church, and with such other demonstrations as in your Lordships' judgment might seem most conducive to promote the cause of true religion and Christian unity, and to represent the Church of England to our Eastern fellow Christians in her true character as a pure and Apostolic branch of the Universal Church of Christ.⁶

There followed a brief discussion in the Upper House, but no action was taken. Nevertheless, the incident is important as showing that a new impulse toward fellowship with the East was at work in the Mother Church of England at the very time when the Protestant Episcopal Church of America was similarly stirred.

The suggestion from England met with approval and an Anglo-American Joint Committee was formed. Its appointment, however, as well as the occasion of the discussions at the Convention, gave a new character to the entire movement. Henceforth it is not to be a distinctive *American* effort, revealing specially the approach of the American mind to the question, but rather

⁵ See *Eastern Church Association* (Oxford), New Series, viii, (1904); also ix, and x, (1904).

⁶ *Eastern Church Association* New Series, viii, 2.

that modern phase of reunion discussions the investigation of which needs to take into account the actions and pronouncements of the Church of England, equally with those of the Protestant Episcopal Church. And not only was a new character imparted to the Eastward movement by the General Convention of 1862, but there was also given to it a new trend. Until that time, the interest of American Christianity, in so far as the Orthodox church was concerned, had been directed toward the Levant; but the Russo-Greek Committee sprang from the problem of the contact of the Russian church with that of America. It was to Russia, therefore, that the American group, otherwise known as the Russo-Greek Committee, directed in the first place its attention; and its earliest important undertaking was the friendly mission of the secretary, the Rev. John P. Young, and of the Honorable Samuel B. Ruggles, a distinguished layman, to that country.

The events thus far described, marking as they do the end of the distinctively American period and the beginning of a new stage, are outside the purview of this work and do not call for further study at this time. Nevertheless, the reference to the Russo-Greek Committee and the occasion of its formation may appropriately serve as an introduction to the research here undertaken, for it not only shows that there is an American factor in the history of Eastern church relations, but is also a reminder that the American contribution to the whole subject may well be expected to be characteristic of the practical people from whom it proceeds, and to have to do with an actual situation to be met or with some immediate problem requiring solution.

The English reformation which severed the bonds of Rome meant that many in the Anglican church would now look to the East for fellowship. Not only did the English reformers frequently allude to the Orthodox church, but they actually took steps to bring about intercommunion. It has often been pointed out that the patriarchate of Constantinople is deliberately excluded from the provisions of the XIXth Article of Religion, in which errors are attributed to the other three patriarchates of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch. Then near the end of the seventeenth

century, a Royal Commission on the Prayer Book made the following notation in connection with the *Filioque* difficulty: "It is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether a Note ought not here to be added with relation to the Greek Church, in order to our maintaining Catholic Communion."⁷ In the meantime, there had been intercourse between the Near East and England, more particularly during the time of Cyril Lukar, who was patriarch of Constantinople from 1621 to 1638, and who sent also Metrophanes Critopoulos, a young priest who ultimately became patriarch of Alexandria, to study at the University of Oxford. Furthermore, some able chaplains were sent during those years to the Near East, such as Thomas Smith (1668-1671), and John Covel (1671-1678), whose writings on the Eastern church are of special value, as is the work also of Sir Paul Rycaut, a British Consul, who spent seventeen years in Turkey and in 1678 wrote on *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*.

Special efforts were made about this time to encourage Greek Orthodox students to come to Oxford. Worcester College, then known as Gloucester Hall, was from 1698 until 1710 set apart for this purpose, becoming commonly known as the "Greek College"; and there was a time during that period when it had as many as twenty Greek students. Then early in the eighteenth century the Nonjurors, claiming to be "the remnant of the Catholic Church in Britain," sought recognition by the patriarch of Constantinople; but the latter, though courteous, insisted first on unconditional submission. But Archbishop Wake of Canterbury had by this time heard of these overtures, and felt that he ought to acquaint the Easterns with the precise status of the Nonjurors and their relation to the Church of England. This was done accordingly in 1725 and the episode came to an end.⁸ For about one hundred years after that those two branches of Christendom had little contact with each other. The East dropped out of sight,

⁷ George Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1868), Introduction, xviii.

⁸ Williams, *The Orthodox Church*. This work gives an account of the Nonjuror correspondence.

and ignorance regarding it set in among the people of the West. While this was true of England, it was even more so of America, a country isolated and remote, and only partially aware of European interests and currents of thought.⁹

With the coming of the nineteenth century there was a change. The lands of the Mediterranean were challenging the attention of the Western world. The year 1820 saw the beginning of the American work in the Levant in that the American Board sent out its first missionaries. Thus there set in a new era in the matter of approach to Eastern Christendom. The century of silence was now at an end.

Fifty years later was a critical time, for in 1870 there occurred the promulgation at the Vatican Council of the dogma of papal infallibility. So long as that belief remained undefined those dissenting from it could still feel that they had a place within the Roman system, and Anglican advocates of general reunion could cast longing eyes in the direction of Rome. But now the defining of the dogma put an end to those aspirations, and henceforth those Anglicans who were oppressed with a sense of the isolation of their church, and sought relief through fellowship with some other Catholic communion, could only look in the direction of the Eastern church. Thus the East came to loom large again in the counsels of Anglicanism and there was a kindling of the desire for a mutual understanding.¹⁰

Furthermore, the year 1870 is of special significance in the history of the Russo-Greek Committee. A report was presented

⁹ For an account of the efforts from the days of the Reformation to modern times to bring the two churches together, see Williams, *The Orthodox Church*; S. L. Ollard, *Dictionary of English Church History*, article on "Anglo-Eastern Reunion"; and Bishop John Wordsworth on "The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates." See also, *passim*, P. E. Shaw, *The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church* (Milwaukee, 1930).

¹⁰ The dogma of 1870 was also one cause of the Bonn Conferences which brought together Eastern, Anglican, and Old Catholic representatives in an effort to transcend their differences and bring about intercommunion. See H. P. Liddon, *Report of the Proceedings of the Reunion Conference held at Bonn, . . . 1874* (London, 1875); the same, on the Conference held in 1875. (London, 1876).

to the general Convention of 1868, asking that the Russo-Greek Committee be continued with a view to getting further authentic information, and that it present its findings.¹¹ In the appendix to the *Journal* for 1868 is a "Memorial of the Eastern Church Association" of England¹², dated September 19, 1868, and addressed to the bishops, presbyters, and lay members of the Convention. Its object was to relate what had been done toward the drawing together of the Eastern and Anglican churches, and to call attention to the reasons which seemed to point out the Church of America as "peculiarly fitted, by God's providence, to take the initiative at this critical moment in whatever advances may be deemed desirable to make towards Intercommunion between the Churches of the Anglican Communion and the great Orthodox Churches of Russia, Constantinople and Greece." It went on to show that whereas reunion with Rome was out of the question, it was otherwise as regards the East: "At all events it was felt to be worth the trial." It then proceeds to indicate what had been done by means of exchange visits and theological discussions, and continues:

Your Memorialists would respectfully suggest that the Church in America is better qualified to take the initiative in the conduct of these delicate negotiations than the Church of England. Untrammelled by State control, independent in her ecclesiastical as in her political organization, she seems marked out by Providence, to lead the way in uniting, not States only, but Churches in a holy Federal Bond. The unbroken friendly relations between Russia and the United States, and the intimate commercial and social intercourse between the two countries, give assurance that while overtures for Reunion from the American Church would be regarded with the most favourable eye by the Russian authorities both in Church and State, there is little doubt that they would be equally agreeable to the majority of American Churchmen.

Another reason given in the Memorial has reference to the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867, and the "actual juxtaposition of the two Churches in the possessions on the Pacific, recently ceded to the American Government by Russia."

¹¹ *Journal of the General Convention* (1868), 148; 480-7.

¹² The Eastern Church Association, which had for its object the promoting of friendly relations with the Eastern church, was founded in 1864 as the result of the efforts of George Williams. It was refounded in 1893 by John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury.

It continues, "This tract of country contains many Orthodox Churchmen among its inhabitants, the Missions of the Russian Church having long been established in the neighbouring Aleutian Islands. Will it not be imperative upon the American Church to make such provision for these sheep without a shepherd as shall not interfere with their recognized Spiritual authorities?" The Eastern Church Association therefore suggests that "formal negotiations with the authorities of the Russian Church . . . and the other Orthodox Churches of the East" be undertaken, believing that if the American church did that she "would thereby stir up the Mother Church of England to emulate her example, and would exercise an incalculable influence upon the action of the next Convocation with regard to this subject." These suggestions from outside, answering to reflections from within the Episcopal church, widened the scope of the Eastward movement and strengthened the confidence of its leaders. The Russo-Greek Committee had now passed the experimental stage. With its report to the General Convention of 1871, a new era may be said to have begun in the history of American and Eastern church relations.¹³

Again in 1869 that friend of Greece, Jonas King, one of the earliest Missionaries of the American Board, passed away. Though the official connection of the Board with Greece ceased when it withdrew in 1842, it continued to be unofficially represented by Dr. King. But with the passing of the great missionary, that connection of the American Board came definitely to an end. From this time on American missions had little to do with Greece save that at a later period, and for a few years only, the American Baptists resumed their mission at Athens.¹⁴ Thus 1870 marks the end of yet another American effort in behalf of the peoples of the Near East, and for this as well as for the other reasons indicated may be appropriately taken as the *terminus ad quem* of this historical study.

The subject, therefore, to be considered in this work is the

¹³ The Memorial is found in the *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1868. Appendix IV, 427 ff.

¹⁴ See Chapter on "Lesser Protestant Efforts."

relation, within the period indicated, of the churches of America to those of the East. But, whereas this is understood to refer primarily to the Eastern Orthodox Church, note will be taken also of what was done in behalf of the Armenians, because those efforts are bound up with the other and are needed to explain the general policies at the time of the respective mission boards.

With the exception of the Church Missionary Society, which began operations in the Mediterranean in 1812,¹⁵ the British and Foreign Bible Society, which did so in 1809,¹⁶ and occasional attempts on the part of lesser European groups, the earliest Protestant efforts in the nineteenth century to help the Eastern churches came from American societies. The East itself seemed unable to distinguish between English and Transatlantic Christianity, and "American religion" was the name current in the Levant for the English-speaking type of Protestantism. This term, which was intended to be a disparaging epithet, is of real value for the present purpose, in that it shows the recognition by Eastern peoples themselves of the American influences in their midst. The investigation of this American effort—its aims, found largely in the instructions given by the several mission boards, its methods and results,—will occupy the historical part of the present work.

A twofold interest ought to underlie a study of this kind. There should be concern to help the churches of Eastern Christendom, and a desire to contribute in some way toward Christian reunion. For not only are those churches distressed with the many woes that have come upon them of late, and with the perils still surrounding them in the political sphere, but they have to contend with the further danger to which their members are exposed, especially in Western lands, of being swept away into the errors of sundry modern cults alien in content or in spirit to historic Christianity. On the other hand, these same churches,

¹⁵ Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1899), I, chapter xvii.

¹⁶ W. Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1904), I, 139-140.

if for no other reason than geographic proximity, seem to be marked out as the proper agency for the evangelization of their Mohammedan neighbors. But it is evident that owing to the peculiar development of their theology or their forms of worship, they are unequal to commending in an acceptable manner the Christian faith to the Moslem mind. It is not improbable, however, that fellowship and co-operation with the type of Christianity prevailing in English-speaking lands would increase both their opportunities and their efficiency as evangelizing agencies.

This inquiry, in fact, has a bearing on Christian reunion as a whole; a question that has passed the academic stage and is no longer the peculiar concern of the theologian or the ecclesiastical expert. The present age is witnessing a growing recognition in the Christian church at large of the fact of a common Christianity; of an underlying unity notwithstanding the unhappy divisions of Christendom. With this there is emerging a demand for the speedy removal of the barriers which, by isolating Christians into separate folds, have made them pass the days of their sojourning as strangers to each other.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREEK MISSION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

In all recent attempts on the part of English-speaking Christianity to bring the East and the West together it has been assumed that the Eastern church, whatever its defects or misfortunes, is a sister-church, and ought always to be approached as a member of the Christian household. This principle, which is now accepted by practically all evangelical communions, has been maintained most consistently by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. It was definitely adopted by that church in 1828 when the mission to Greece was begun, and it largely determined the course and character of that significant work.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, compared with other denominations, was slow in undertaking foreign missionary work. One reason for the delay was the position of that church during the Revolutionary War, and the suspicion attaching to her because of her natural connection with the mother country and the Church of England; so that before she could address herself to her proper task of world-evangelization, she had to concentrate on overcoming some of the prejudice at home with which she had come to be regarded.

But in 1818 there was a revival of religion,¹ one result of which was the adoption of a missionary program, and in 1820 the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was organized.² The term "foreign," however, in the title of the Society,

¹ See address by Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe, at the Jubilee Services of the Missionary Society: *Spirit of Missions*, December, 1871, 595-603; especially p. 600.

² It was reconstituted in 1835 as "The Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." See S. D. Denison, *A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York, 1871), 14-24; 252 ff.

was given a racial rather than a geographic connotation, so that it included the "Indian" population toward whom the earliest missionary efforts were directed, and this was thought to be foreign work.³ Still the fact remained that for eight years no real foreign missionary had been sent by the Episcopal Society, whereas the American Board had been working in distant lands since 1812. Complaints now began to be heard,⁴ and by this time the plea that the aborigines were receiving attention satisfied neither the critics nor the Missionary Society. Foreign work was therefore resolved upon, and Liberia and the Argentine were the two fields thought of, but the projects contemplated were not carried out.⁵ There was one other field, however, that could not be overlooked.

The Missionary Society was formed at a time when Hellenism was in the minds of men. Even before the revolt of the Greek people against the Turks, the Western world had begun to take an interest in them. Their commercial progress, the literary revival of their language, and the sympathetic reports of travelers in the Near East⁶ contributed to bring Hellenism to the attention of the West. Protestant missionary societies and missionary presses were already laboring in Mediterranean lands.⁷ Then came the Greek Revolution of 1821, which evoked considerable sympathy in the United States,⁸ some religious leaders there be-

3 Given with some minor omissions in Denison, *Foreign Missionary Work*, 48-50.

4 *Ibid.*, 57.

5 *Missionary Record* (June, 1833), 93; Denison, *Foreign Missionary Work*, 67-69.

6 e. g., William Jowett (of the Church Missionary Society), *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean* (1822).

7 The *Quarterly Paper* of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, No. 3, (September, 1828), mentions five societies as already at work in the Mediterranean, viz., the Church Missionary Society; the British and Foreign Bible Society; the London Society for Converting the Jews; the Greek Mission at Basel, Switzerland; and the American Board. But see also footnote 14.

8 See the speech by Daniel Webster before the House of Representatives, December 18, 1823, on the Greek Revolution. Also note the speech by Bishop Bedell, at the Jubilee of the Missionary Society in 1871, *Spirit of Missions*, (October, 1871). But many differed from

coming strong advocates of the Greek cause.⁹

When the War was over, the question arose as to the kind of aid to be given to the stricken though emancipated country. Centuries of oppression had left their mark upon the land and the people, and the years of the Revolutionary War had completed the havoc. The external distress was obvious, and material help was quickly forthcoming, but religion also had suffered in the general decline, and there was need of spiritual succour. It was in response thereto that the Protestant world was led to make special efforts to minister to the needs of the East and to contribute to the revival and reformation of its historic church. It was here that the Episcopal church began its foreign work: not by going to heathen lands, but by seeking to minister to a professedly Christian people, and by doing good "especially to those of the household of the faith."¹⁰

The Greek Mission was instituted in 1830, and its earliest missionaries were the Rev. John J. Robertson¹¹ (who had been sent in 1828 to make investigations in Greece and who on his

this point of view: see Edward M. Earle in *American Historical Review* (October, 1927), on "American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827."

- 9 Conspicuous among American Philhellenes was one in whose study the Greek Mission was cradled, namely, the Rev. Gregory Townsend Bedell (1793-1834), Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, and a consistent advocate of foreign missions. He was ordained presbyter in 1818; became rector at Fayetteville, N. C., 1818-22; Rector of St. Andrew's, Philadelphia, 1822-34; Editor of the *Philadelphia Recorder*, later known as the *Episcopal Recorder*. A biographical sketch is given in Vol. I of his sermons, edited by Stephen H. Tyng. A sermon was preached by Dr. Bedell on "The Cause of the Greeks" on January 18, 1824, on the occasion of a collection for the "Greek Fund." It gives the impression however that the author felt he had to prove to the people in America the righteousness of the Greek cause.
- 10 Galatians 6:10. Cf. the address by Bishop A. C. Coxe at the Jubilee Meeting of the Society in 1871. *Spirit of Missions* (October, 1871), 600.
- 11 Born in New York, 1796, died 1881. Was missionary in the Levant, 1829-1842. Ill-health, and the cares of a family were among the reasons for his retirement from missionary work. He then became rector at Matteawan, N. Y., and later at Saugerties, N. Y. See *Protestant Episcopal Almanac* for 1882.

return strongly urged the project),¹² Mrs. Robertson, the Rev. John H. Hill¹³ and Mrs. Hill. With them went also Mr. Bingham, a printer. They left Boston on September 29, 1829, and reached Malta on November 27. There they received a warm welcome from the missionaries of Evangelical societies, and rejoiced in their fellowship.¹⁴ Early in 1830 they arrived in Greece, going to the island of Tenos where a dwelling had been prepared for them by the Rev. Jonas King of the American Board¹⁵. Six months later they removed to Athens where they had not been allowed to land on their way out because at the time the place was in the hands of the Turks.¹⁶ In a letter to the Missionary Committee explaining why they left Tenos, Robertson and Hill state that they had always considered Athens to be the best missionary station, that practically all the Turks had now retired from it, that it was central for the whole of Greece, that its

12 Robertson, before leaving, received Instructions, and a supplementary Letter of Introduction to Eastern Orthodox bishops from the pen of Bishop William White, 1748-1836. These documents form the Appendix to the *Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, May 12, 1829. Bishop White, who was consecrated at Lambeth, 1787, was the organizer of the independent and autonomous Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and for forty years "Presiding Bishop" of that church.

13 John Henry Hill, 1791-1882. Graduate of Columbia College, and of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia. He received the S.T.D. degree from Harvard in 1856, and that of LL.D from Columbia in 1868. He resigned from the mission in 1869, but spent in Greece the rest of his days. He married Miss Frances M. Mulligan of New York City. Mrs. Hill's missionary enthusiasm was shared by her sisters, Miss Elizabeth Mulligan and Miss Frederica Mulligan, who in 1832 and 1834 respectively joined the staff of Hill's School. For fuller information regarding Hill see *Spirit of Missions* (1882), 295-8; and *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia* (Alexandria, 1923), 252-270. For a biography of Mrs. Hill, see *Spirit of Missions* (1884), 599-601.

14 Robertson was on intimate terms with the British Wesleyan Methodist missionaries at Zante. He wrote to his Society: "We have each preached twice in the Wesleyan Chapel." *Quarterly Missionary Paper* of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society (May, 1831), 65. See also June, 1830. The *Missionary Paper* of the Society was succeeded in 1833 by the *Missionary Record*, and that again in 1836 by the *Spirit of Missions*.

15 *Quarterly Missionary Paper* (May, 1831), 7.

16 *Ibid.*, Sept. 1831. Joint letter from Robertson and Hill, Athens, May 7, 1831.

population, driven away during the war, was now beginning to return and was likely to grow, and that there were indications that the town would ere long take the place of Nauplia as the capital of the new kingdom.¹⁷

These considerations were no doubt conclusive, but they needed to be supplemented by courage and faith, for Athens at that time was in a pitiable condition. During the War of Independence it had been almost depopulated and scarcely any houses were left standing.¹⁸ A hunted remnant of six thousand was all that the city had to show. The Rev. Christopher Wordsworth,¹⁹ later bishop of Lincoln, who visited Greece in 1832, thus describes the place in his *Journal*: "The town of Athens is now lying in ruins. The streets are almost deserted: nearly all the houses are without roofs. The churches are reduced to bare walls and heaps of stones and mortar. There is but one church in which the service is performed. A few new wooden houses, one or two of more solid structure, and the two lines of planked sheds which form the bazar are all the inhabited dwellings that Athens can now boast. So slowly does it recover from the effects of the late war."²⁰ Hill's own account of the situation agrees with the foregoing. He describes a town "*totally* destroyed, the poor inhabitants accustomed for ten years to be hunted like wild beasts, and to find refuge even in dens and caves. . . . On returning to the scene of devastation (they were) not only content, but over-joyed to be allowed to sit down in peace on the sites of their former dwellings, crouching behind a few feet of broken wall, or covered by a temporary shed of boughs and leaves. In a little time, they prepare for the approaching winter, and construct from

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Athens became the capital in 1834.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Christopher Wordsworth, 1807-1885, consecrated bishop in 1869. A strong advocate of reunion with the Eastern church and an accomplished scholar in modern Greek. He took a prominent part in the various approaches to the East, especially in the 'sixties,' and subsequently. He travelled in Greece in 1832-33. Two books of his, *Athens and Attica*, and *Greece, Pictorial and Descriptive* (1839), were the result of those travels.

²⁰ Christopher Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, (London, 1836), 51.

the ruins of their former dwellings, something like a house, in shape at least, four walls, a roof, and an earth floor. This was the situation of Athens, when we entered it in 1831."²¹

From the first it was realized, in view of the avowed intention of the church in America not to interfere with the Greek church, that public preaching from a Protestant pulpit was inadvisable, and the missionaries decided to devote themselves mainly to the work of education and the press. But Hill, who had the dominant mind and more forceful will, seems to have found Robertson timid and not sufficiently aggressive. Robertson, in fact, during Hill's absence in Smyrna for a period of some months, had become unduly anxious, and fearing that it would be impossible to meet the financial requirements, had consented to such drastic reduction of the activities of the schools as brought the work to the verge of extinction. "It appears," Hill writes just after his return to Athens, "that brother Robertson having become excessively alarmed by the reports from home of the state of the Society's finances, and fearing, that for want of funds we should not be able to meet our present engagements, resolved to dismiss two of our teachers (in the male department), and to put the school establishment upon the most reduced scale possible."²² Hill found that the building where the schools had been held was now abandoned, and that in its place had been rented two small and inadequate rooms in different and distant parts of the town. He refused to abide by this arrangement, and with little loss of time was able to secure a building large enough to house himself and family, as well as the schools. He also undertook to provide his own rent through the good will of personal friends, thus leaving to the Society the burden only of the rent for Robertson's house. Consequent upon all this a division of work was agreed upon, the main or educational part of the mission being reserved for Hill, the press being taken over by Robertson.²³

²¹ *Missionary Record*, Sept., 1834. Letter from Hill, March 1, 1834.

²² *Periodical Missionary Paper* (Sept., 1832), letter dated March 19, 1832; See also July, 1832.

²³ Hill's letter in *Periodical Missionary Paper*, (Sept., 1832). Also *Report of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society for 1834*, 21.

This was before long moved to the island of Syra, an important commercial seaport, and there in addition was begun a school for girls. But there were misgivings at home as to the usefulness of the press, and accordingly it was given up in 1839.²⁴ Robertson returned to America, and was next appointed to the mission at Constantinople.²⁵

In honoring the work of Dr. Hill, there has at times appeared a disposition to assign to it an exaggerated place in the history of modern Greek education. The fact is, that the educational ideal has never been absent from Hellenism even through all the years of oppression; and Capodistrias,²⁶ the first President of liberated Greece, 1829-31, planned an extensive educational program. But lack of funds and teachers prevented the carrying out of that program; so, that there was room for the educational work being undertaken by the several missionary societies. Furthermore, the government had scarcely realized the importance of female education. There was practically nothing of this in 1831. The main exception was the Church Missionary Society's school at Syra under the leadership of Dr. C. L. Korck.²⁷ From

The *Report for 1836*, 85, shows that special efforts were made to have the two enterprises in Greece explicitly and officially distinct, with "provisions calculated to prevent any interference between them."

24 A new and strict Press Law, details of which are in the *Missionary Record* (February, 1835), 24, had seriously interfered with the missionary presses.

25 Report of the Foreign Committee in *Spirit of Missions*, (July, 1837), 215-217.

26 For Capodistrias, see W. Miller, *Ottoman Empire and its Successors*, Chapters 4, 5, 6. He was a Corfiote, and had been for some time in the service of the tsar of Russia. He was assassinated in 1831. His first concern as ruler was to provide for education. Numerous schools of elementary and some of higher grade were established; also a Normal School at Aegina. Under King Otho, 1833-1862, during the Regency of Maurer, Armansperg, and Von Heideck, the Herculean task was undertaken of reorganizing the educational system and introducing practically the German system of elementary school, high school, gymnasium and university. The National University was founded in 1837.

27 Dr. C. L. Korck of Bremen had been educated at the Missionary Institution of Basel. He was placed in charge of the C. M. S. School in Syra, 1827-1831. He was succeeded by Rev. F. Hildner, also from Basel. He died at Athens in 1842. Hill (*Missionary Record*, November, 1834) refers to him as a "Missionary of greater experience than any in the Mediterranean."

the first Hill saw that here was a neglected field, and he decided to give himself to the cause of training, as he himself was wont to put it, "the Mothers of Greece."

In 1831 such a school was begun, meeting in the basement of Hill's house. Two years later it was necessary to move to a larger and specially built house made possible through contributions of friends in America. This led to still further expansion of the work, and soon it was possible to have besides the elementary grades a high school for boys and another for girls. In 1833 there were in all 300 pupils. Within a few years this had increased to 700, which represented the capacity of the school. In the conduct of the school, the Bible was made a daily text-book, the founders believing that this was in keeping with the spirit of the Greek church.

The mission was also a pioneer in the training of women teachers. The plan was to take a few of the more promising girls to live with the Hills with a view to thorough preparation for this kind of work. The government before long showed its approval of the scheme by sending there twelve girls for that purpose to be trained by Hill at government expense.²⁸ Thus came into being what was practically the first normal school for women in Greece, and when the government normal school was begun in 1836, its faculty consisted largely of teachers trained under Hill's supervision.²⁹

The official Letter of Instructions, chiefly from the pen of Bishop A. V. Griswold, given to the outgoing missionaries in September, 1829, reminded them of the church commissioning them and of their natural loyalty thereto, but at the same time urged them to be most solicitous for the peace of that Eastern church which they were going out to help. "You are by no means," said the Instructions, "to say or write or do anything which may justly give rise to the impression that you have visited the Greeks

²⁸ *Missionary Record* (Nov., 1834), 165 f., letter from Hill, June 25, 1834.

²⁹ *Spirit of Missions*, (Sept., 1882), 341-344. Speech by Prof. A. Kyriakos of Athens.

for the purpose of introducing another form of Christianity or establishing another Church, than that in which they have been nurtured. . . . If, in anything, the Greek Church may appear to you to have departed from the purity and simplicity of primitive times and scriptural example, beware how you make them matters of censure or sweeping attack."³⁰ These Instructions were now proving contradictory. According to them Hill was to avoid anything likely to offend the susceptibilities of the Eastern church; yet he was also reminded he was sent out as an Episcopal missionary, who had to be scrupulously loyal to the church which sent him out. It had not been realized by the authors of the Instructions that one part or the other was likely to suffer.

From the first there was a tendency in the schools to conform to the teaching of the Eastern church. A distinction was quietly made at an early date between the department for infants and young children, and the rest of the educational work of the institution.³¹ In the latter, instruction in religious subjects was given by Greek ecclesiastics, and the catechism enjoined by the Church of Greece had a place in the curriculum.³² This arrangement, appreciated by the people of Athens,³³ was also a matter of gratification to Hill who frequently commented on it with evident satisfaction. But it did not commend itself to his supporters

³⁰ The document is given in its entirety in Denison, *Foreign Missionary Work*, I, 142-144. This letter does not seem to have been made public, for some reason, until 1870; that is, not until the publication of this work by Denison. The Investigating Committee of 1860 could find these documents nowhere, and had to obtain copies from Dr. Hill. Annual Report, in *Spirit of Missions*, (1860) 394 f.

³¹ *Missionary Record* (June, 1834). Letter from Hill to the Society, in *Spirit of Missions* (1858), 558-571. The name "Mission School" came to be restricted to the infant department. The distinction thus brought about is severely criticized by Charles W. Andrews in his *Historic Notes of Protestant Missions to the Oriental Churches* (Richmond, Va., 1866), especially because of the consequent confusion in the minds of people in America as to what the "Mission School" really was. See also footnote 69 below.

³² *Athena* newspaper, (Athens, April 3, old style, 15, new style, 1842.) The difference in the calendars is 12 days in the 19th century, 13 days in the 20th. Letter from Hill to the paper.

³³ Letter of appreciation to Hill from many prominent citizens of Athens, *Spirit of Missions* (Oct., 1842), 314-316.

in the United States. In a resolution of 1832 the Missionary Society expressed its willingness to retain the infant section, but proposed to transfer the more advanced departments to the care of a new society which had been formed in America by Episcopalians for the purpose of promoting education in Greece. The natural inference is that the Missionary Society was not prepared to identify itself with Hill's work in its entirety, since the principles guiding him might be in conflict with the views of a large number of Churchmen at home.

By 1830, when Greece began as an independent state, there had grown in the country a strong anti-Protestant feeling.³⁴ It had come to be felt that Protestant missionaries were undermining loyalty to the Eastern church, and tactless productions from missionary presses had doubtless encouraged that suspicion.³⁵ There now appeared sundry pamphlets and articles in Greece against the various Protestant efforts in the Levant, not excluding those of the Bible societies. The opposition grew apace, the climax coming in 1836, when the patriarch of Constantinople issued his edict against all missionary schools.³⁶

To understand the issue it is important to remember the almost inextricable confusion of politics and religion in modern Greek affairs of that period. From the very beginnings of that state two parties are seen, the Russophil and the Anglophil, the latter being in sympathy with all the powers in the West, the Protestant ones in particular, which were opposed to Russian policy and ambitions. It followed that this party, also called "Liberal" by Greek writers, would be tolerant toward any evangelistic efforts which had their origin in the liberal nations of the West, and would be disposed to be friendly toward western missionaries; and on the other hand, the Russophils would be fanatically Orthodox.

That the respective European governments were glad to seize

34 Chrysostom Papadopoulos, *History of the Church in Greece* (Athens, 1920), I. Chapter on "Neophytus Bambas and the translation of the Scriptures." (A Modern Greek work).

35 *Missionary Record* (April, 1834), letter from J. J. Robertson.

36 This is the encyclical referred to below, on page 28.

upon a religious dispute to further their own political ends may have been true at times; but this does not do away with the fact that primarily and fundamentally the issue was religious. The patriarchal edict against the missionary schools, and the persecution by the Holy Synod of Jonas King,³⁷ a missionary of the American Board, may have been stealthily suggested or encouraged by the Russian government in order to create difficulties for Great Britain; but the concern of the Orthodox church in this crisis need not be questioned.

In Greece proper the literary campaign against the missionaries was carried on largely in the columns of the *Aeon*,³⁸ a paper intensely Orthodox and nationalist, anti-Western, and particularly anti-British. The opposing leaders were two learned theologians. One of these, Theokletos Pharmakides (1784-1860), had received his training at the Patriarchal Theological School in Constantinople, after which, from 1804 to 1811, he was in Roumania. During this period he acquired an intense dislike both of Russia and of the ecumenical patriarchate. He travelled in Italy and Austria, and studied for a while at the University of Göttingen. At the invitation of the high commissioner, Lord Guildford, he taught for two brief periods at the Ionian Academy in Corfu. In 1833 and the following years he took a leading part in the

³⁷ For an account of the proceedings against Jonas King, see Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches* (Boston, 1872), 2 vols.

³⁸ The *Aeon* was founded in 1838. From the first it was intensely Orthodox and Russophil. It led the agitation against Jonas King. It was particularly anti-British, taking every occasion to voice the Ionian discontent against British rule. Its editor was John Philemon, who was succeeded in that office by his son, Timoleon Philemon. The chief journalistic opponent of the *Aeon* was the *Athena*. This paper was Orthodox, but anti-Russian, and friendly to the Americans. Its columns were hospitable to Hill and King, and in fact it might have been described at times as Jonas King's unofficial organ. The *Aeon's* attack upon Hill continued till the beginning of 1843. It is particularly noticeable in all the issues of March and April 1842. On Oikonomos and Pharmakides, two important works in Greek by Professor Demetrius S. Balanos have recently appeared, viz., *Konstantinos Oikonomou o ex Oikonomon* (Athens, 1932); and *Theokletos Pharmakides, 1784-1860* (Athens, 1933).

movement to secure the independence of the church in Greece from the ecumenical patriarchate.³⁹ In 1837 he was made professor of theology at the National University of Greece, but two years later was transferred to the chair of philology—a change which he attributed to the intrigues of his rival, Oikonomos, whom he proceeded to attack in the *Apologia*, published in 1840. In this writing he also declaims against the patriarchate because of its activities against western missionaries. Pharmakides himself had from the first shown an interest in the foreign Bible societies and missionary societies. As far back as 1832 he had written to Jonas King thanking him for his efforts toward the education of the Greeks.⁴⁰ In the *Apologia* he actually speaks well of those same agencies against which the patriarch had recently hurled anathemas, insisting that that condemnation was only due to political motives, and that the missionaries not only were undeserving of censure but were even to be commended.⁴¹ The fact is, his stay in Germany had not been without effect upon his outlook. Always loyal to Orthodoxy, he had nevertheless acquired much of the liberal spirit of the West, which made the more tenaciously Orthodox call him “Anglophil,” and accuse him of complacent toleration of heretical movements within the Greek church and of compromising friendliness toward the English and American missionaries.

The other literary figure, who is by far the more popular with Greek ecclesiastical historians and theological writers, was Constantine Oikonomos (1780-1857). This leader had had agreeable contacts with the patriarchate and he was one of the official

39 The church in Greece had in 1838 declared itself autocephalous. The patriarchate refused to agree to this. The result was a prolonged conflict with Constantinople, while in Greece itself patriarchal and anti-patriarchal factions contended against each other. A reconciliation with Constantinople was effected in 1850. The Constitution of the church in Greece was set forth in 1852. Full accounts of the foregoing are in Hill's letter, in *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1852), 397-8; (May, 1866), 259-261. Papadopoulos, *Church in Greece*, deals at length with this subject.

40 Jonas King, *Miscellaneous Works* (1859), 588-590.

41 *Apologia*, 144-179. Quoted and discussed at length in Papadopoulos, *Church in Greece*, 272-278.

preachers at Constantinople in 1821. That same year, on the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, he went at the tsar's invitation to reside in St. Petersburg, and remained there for some years. In 1834 he returned to Athens, and spent the rest of his days in preaching and in literary efforts;⁴² all the products of his pen and the numberless ones written under his inspiration being strongly pro-patriarchal, Russophil, and anti-Protestant.⁴³

But the most serious move against the missionaries came from the ecumenical patriarch,⁴⁴ Gregory VI—a well-educated divine, eager to fulfil his ministry, but who in his eagerness was all too ready to heed the suggestions and alarms of unscrupulous adventurers who chose to pose as defenders of Orthodoxy.⁴⁵ There was much to give him concern in his time: for there was a heretical movement in one of the Islands,⁴⁶ while on the other hand, increasing Roman Catholic activities, and an aggressive Protestantism, were making inroads upon the Eastern church. In his zeal he even proceeded to interfere in the Ionian Islands, calling upon the priesthood there to oppose a government bill dealing with the question of marriage. This led the British government through its ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, to make protests to the Porte, such as led to his deposition in 1840.⁴⁷ His main work, however, was the warfare on Protestants who were carrying on their propaganda by means of translations of the Scriptures into modern Greek, by Protestant tracts, and by general missionary activities.

The most far-reaching move on the patriarch's part was the

⁴² His ecclesiastical works, which are of considerable historical importance, were published in three volumes, in 1862-1866, under the title *Remains of Oikonomos*.

⁴³ Papadopoulos, *Church in Greece*, 144-164. In his campaign Oikonomos was strongly supported by the press generally.

⁴⁴ Patriarch, 1835-40, and again, 1867-71.

⁴⁵ This criticism is from Manuel Gedeon's *Memorials of Patriarchal History* (Athens, 1922), 44.

⁴⁶ Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, 223-272, has a full discussion of this theosophic movement at Andros and its leader, Theophilus Kairis.

⁴⁷ For a biography of Gregory VI see Papadopoulos, pp. 164-186. Also Gedeon, *Memorials of Patriarchal History* — a Greek MS. which Mr. Gedeon discovered and edited with valuable notes, Athens 1922. (In Greek).

famous Encyclical of 1836, entitled *Encyclical and Synodical letter of exhortation to the Orthodox everywhere that they keep away from pernicious teachings*.⁴⁸ In this he surveys the "heresies" of which Protestantism is made up, meaning the teachings of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and the Socinians, and goes on to discuss present day heretics, at the same time entreating them to stop their nefarious proceedings. He next urges all his metropolitans to take drastic measures in the crisis, to form committees to keep watch over the Orthodox, to confiscate all missionary publications including translations of the Scriptures, and to require parish priests to warn parents against the missionary schools.

This encyclical, as letters from missionaries make clear, wrought great havoc among Protestants in the Near East generally, and even in the independent Kingdom, though that was not under the patriarch's jurisdiction. It also proved to be the signal for an outbreak of mob violence against the missionaries. The charges brought against the missionaries were speedily answered, and on the whole conclusively; but the agitation in Greece did bring about a government requirement that in religious instruction all schools should make use of the official Orthodox catechism. The schools refusing were closed.⁴⁹ Only one, that of the Church Missionary Society at Syra, was strong enough to defy alike public sentiment and the new order.⁵⁰

Hill's dilemma in these circumstances was whether to abandon the whole enterprise or modify it. He decided upon the latter course, and here the distinction already made between the "elementary" or "mission" school, and the rest of the establishment, proved of service. In the elementary school, the only

48 This Encyclical, as well as similar earlier pronouncements of Gregory VI, may be found in Manuel Gedeon, *Kanonikai Diataxeis* (Canonical Regulations), (Constantinople, 1888-1889), II, 197-206; 248-286; 287-292.

49 The *Spirit of Missions* and the *Missionary Herald*, as well as the Annual Reports of the Episcopal Society and of the American Board for the years 1836 and 1837, abound in references to these calamities.

50 *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1836), 342. Hildner secured the concession of having the Greek Catechism taught by a priest at the church or some other public building, without its forming part of the teaching of the school.

section with which the Missionary Society had directly to do, the pupils were of tender years, and therefore the question of theological instruction did not present serious difficulty. But in the other departments, religious teaching was regularly given according to the standards of the Greek church.⁵¹

The senior schools by this time had come to be maintained by other organizations, the Missionary Society exercising only a general benevolent supervision;⁵² a consideration which no doubt justified Hill in permitting therein the kind of instruction which according to some was contrary to the teachings of the Protestant Episcopal Church. To this should be added his conviction that the essentials of the faith were safeguarded where there was insistence on the Nicene Creed. For Hill clearly saw that the Eastern church, however corrupt in practice, was none the less a Christian church, rightly boasting of its dependence on Scripture. He also realized that in making approaches to another Christian communion which professed the fundamentals of the common faith, the right procedure was to lay little stress on details of difference, and to dwell instead on points of agreement. In holding these views, however, he was ahead of his time; and by acting upon them, he laid himself open to sincere but mistaken and persistent attack.

A peculiarly violent outbreak occurred in Athens in 1842, using as its weapon a letter which Mrs. Hill had written in 1841 to the *New York Churchman*,⁵³ clearly intended to reassure American Episcopalians as to the evangelical nature of the work in Greece, in which occurred the sentence: "It seems not unreasonable to indulge in the hope that these schools are to prove the

51 The textbook used was the "Catechism of Platon," one of the most evangelical of Eastern works on theology. It was translated from the Russian into modern Greek by Koraes, and published in Munich, 1834. It bears the title *Orthodoxos Didaskalia*, otherwise, *Compendium of Christian Theology*.

52 Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, *Periodical Missionary Paper* (Jan., 1832), 10. Also, *Annual Report* (Oct., 1832), 43-57.

53 *The Churchman*, Sept., 1841. The letter from Mrs. Hill, who was in the United States at the time, is dated Sept. 9, 1841. It is signed "M." That it was from Mrs. Hill may be learned from the *Spirit of Missions* (Oct., 1842), 311 f.

means, under God, of bringing the entire Greek Church into communion with our own." The entire communication was reprinted in the *Aeon* of March 18/30, 1841, with a translation appended, and was followed four days later by an editorial entitled "Religion insidiously undermined." Then the fury began. But parents rallied to the defense of Hill,⁵⁴ and a government investigation exonerated him from blame, the *Report* issued in June, 1842, in the name of J. Rizos, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, stating:

The Commission appointed by the Holy Synod of the kingdom to enquire into the instruction given in your establishment for the education of young females have, on diligent investigation, found that instruction to be in accordance with the doctrine of the Oriental Church of Christ.⁵⁵

Hill had himself replied to the charges with skill and success through the columns of the *Athena* newspaper.⁵⁶ In one letter in particular, to the same newspaper, he disclaimed all attempts or desire to make proselytes, explained that the girls were taught their faith by a Greek priest, and were led in the daily devotions not by Mr. and Mrs. Hill but by a Greek Orthodox person and by the aid of Greek prayer books; he pointed out that they were brought up in all the practices of their church, and were taken to church regularly; and explicitly stated that the religion taught in the schools was that of the parents. "avoiding all interference with the peculiar dogmas and customs of the Oriental Church and observing strict silence on the peculiar customs and dogmas of our own."⁵⁷

This pacified the Greeks, but was the signal for an outcry at home. Criticism followed concerning the mission generally, but chiefly because of the kind of religious instruction given in the schools. Going back of the things uttered, one can see that the discontent really was aroused because no converts were being

⁵⁴ Given in *Spirit of Missions* (Oct., 1842), 314-316.

⁵⁵ *Athena*, July 5, i. e. 5/17, 1842. Also translated in *Spirit of Missions* (Oct., 1842), 311; and in *Foreign Committee's Report* (1845), 64-65.

⁵⁶ Hill's defence is chiefly in the *Athena* newspaper, of Athens, particularly in the issues of March 21 (special long supplement containing his letters); March 28; April 15; May 2; May 4; July 18; all of 1842.

⁵⁷ *Athena*, April 15 (i. e. 15/27), 1842. Given also in English in Andrews, *Historic Notes* etc., 23.

made.⁵⁸ The force of the criticism was felt even by the Board of Missions, and there was talk in 1843 of discontinuing the Greek mission altogether.⁵⁹ The opposition received a special stimulus in 1858, when disparaging accounts came to be circulated in this country regarding the work of Hill as compared with that of other missions—meaning chiefly that of Jonas King, since 1842 the only representative of the American Board in Greece. In the controversy that followed, it gradually emerged that the popularity of Hill's work among the Greeks was due to the fact that to all intents and purposes he was but carrying out their wishes and teaching their own form of religion. It was now recalled that in his letter of 1842, above quoted, he had justified himself in the eyes of the Greeks by admitting that his work was practically a Greek Orthodox school. Bishop William Heathcote Delancey, of Western New York, we are told, "pronounced the Mission at Athens no mission at all, and nothing more than a flourishing self-supporting female boarding school," and he would have the Board discontinue it. At the meeting of the Board in 1859, a motion of his, carried by a large majority was passed, appointing a committee of five to "report to the Board at its next meeting upon the Greek Mission in all its bearings and relations as a Mission of this Church."⁶⁰

58 At no time in its history was the Greek mission free from criticism at home. As early as 1831 in *The Churchman*, (New York, Oct. 1, 1831) and subsequent issues up to Feb. 11, 1832, a series of protests appeared because no results were being reported and no converts made.

59 The Foreign Committee's *Report* for 1843, Appendix, on the Athens mission. It was also proposed to close the mission which was begun on a small scale in Crete in 1836, with the Rev. George Benton in charge. It was always feeble, and suffered much in the anti-Protestant agitation of 1842. It was abandoned in 1844.

60 Reported in C. W. Andrews, *Historic Notes*, etc., 26. On page 18, Dr. Andrews refers to the surprise he experienced when he visited the schools in 1841: "I was taken to see the 'Mission' Schools, as by a singular distinction they have since been called. They were, I believe, in two rooms, crowded with small children, much like our infant schools. That the catechism was taught in these schools I have never asserted, . . . the children were too young to use that book. But the school kept at the mission residence where the catechism was taught, and the one which is so popular in Greece, I did not see. But it was not necessary to invite visitors into it, as, being conducted in a foreign language, it would have been but a useless interruption . . ." Also on page 21,

The committee could not be considered impartial, seeing it included Bishop Delancey and the Rev. C. W. Andrews,⁶¹ two of the ablest but also most uncompromising opponents of the work. A series of questions submitted by this committee to Hill,⁶² sought information regarding the kind of religious instruction given and as to whether there was insistence upon the teachings of the evangelical school within the Episcopal church.⁶³ The answers received did not satisfy the Rev. C. W. Andrews, who subjected them to an exhaustive and unsparing criticism. But the Board received them as satisfactory, overlooking any elements of inaccuracy and inconsistency.⁶⁴ Rightly, no doubt, for in justice to Hill it should be said that they were after all the best that he could offer, with the conflicting Instructions he had had to govern him, and with the two parties at home in view, one of which was alarmed or exasperated because of the spread of the Catholic revival within the Anglican communion.⁶⁵

But the agitation had a definite result in that the Society declared its intention to drop the mission at Dr. Hill's death.⁶⁶ It actually did so on his retirement in 1869.⁶⁷ The school was then placed under the direction of Miss Muir from Scotland who

footnote, Dr. Andrews complains that in communications from Greece "the term 'Mission' School was confined, without any explanation, to the school of little children who were too young to learn any catechism."

61 William Heathcote Delancey, 1797-1865. Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1827-1834. Consecrated bishop in 1839. See W. S. Perry, *The Episcopate in America*, 77. Rev. Charles Wesley Andrews, D.D., 1808-1875, of Shepherdstown, Va., was a staunch Evangelical, and a prominent figure in the General Conventions of the church. His *Historic Notes*, undoubtedly a sincere work, is polemic and biased, but is valuable as source material.

62 The questions, followed by criticism of Hill's answers thereto, may be found in Andrews, *Historic Notes*.

63 *Annual Reports*, 1860, 1861. *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1860), 394-396.

64 *Annual Report*, 1861, found in *Spirit of Missions* (1861), 308-309.

65 See e. g., as illustrating this growing 'exasperation', a pamphlet: *The Voice of Experience, or Thoughts on the best Method of Conducting Missions by the Protestant Episcopal Church in its Present State. Being the result of conferences among several clergymen* (Philadelphia and New York, 1852).

66 Foreign Committee's *Report*, in *Spirit of Missions* (Nov.-Dec., 1865), 470.

67 *Annual Report*, 1870.

had recently joined the staff,⁶⁸ and it went on with its good work independently,⁶⁹ though for a number of years in the Society's *Annual Reports* reference continued to be made to the "Greek Mission."

When Dr. Hill died in 1882, the city of Athens gave him a public funeral, and at public expense a monument was set up to him, the inscription stating that it had been "erected, in gratitude, by the municipality of Athens." At the grave side, the professor of theology at the University, Anastasios Kyriakos, pronounced an oration extolling the deceased for his vision and manifold educational work, but particularly for his refusal to make converts, and for his reverence toward and his faith in the Eastern church. "The Rev. Dr. Hill," said the orator, "revered the Eastern Church by reason of its antiquity and for preserving the Christian traditions of the first centuries," and he "understood from the very first that Greece stood only in need of education; that proselytism which tends to force the Greeks from their paternal dogma, could only harm Greece by weakening the foundation of the national religion and begetting religious dissension and scandal."⁷⁰

Such was the outcome of the work initiated by the Protestant Episcopal Church. From small beginnings it grew until the name of Hill came to be revered throughout Greece. To his labors is owing in no small measure the intellectual regeneration of the country. The good thus done has been incalculable; yet at the present time it is scarcely known that this work, which is being

68 Miss Marion Muir, who was on a visit to Athens from Scotland in 1866, was appointed teacher in Hill's school that year. *Spirit of Missions* (Jan., 1867), 66. Although reports of the work of the school were forwarded by her from time to time (e. g., *Spirit of Missions* 1881, Annual Report), it appears that at that time or soon after her work came to be restricted to another school, or primary grade. Hill's main educational work upon Mrs. Hill's death (1884) came under the direction of her niece and assistant, Miss Bessie Masson, the daughter of Edward Masson, a Philhellene who settled in Greece at the time of the Greek Revolution. A native of Scotland, he had been Professor of Greek at the University of Edinburgh.

69 It was incorporated as the "Hill Memorial School" under the laws of the State of Connecticut in 1886.

70 The speeches, and an account of the funeral, may be found in *Spirit of Missions* (1882), 341-344.

continued by his successors to this day, was begun as a mission of the Episcopal Church of America to the little state newly emancipated from the Turks.

The question, nevertheless, still remains whether the mission as such was a success. Its usefulness as an educational institution cannot of course be denied. It offered at a critical time what the stricken country could scarcely provide for itself, lacking as it did the definite ideal, the methods and the means. Nor is there any doubt as to the religious influence issuing from the schools at Athens. But was *this* all that the Missionary Society had intended, and what its constituency had a right to expect? Was *this* kind of work a proper outlet for the foreign missionary energies of the church? Was it not something rather to be undertaken by private enterprise?

The Missionary Society felt this difficulty, and while always praising the work of its agents, early took an opportunity to dissociate itself from their peculiar experiments. For these missionaries in the pursuit of their Christian adventure gave the impression that they were forgetting that they were representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that this church, besides being a benefactor to all races and in every way, was possessed also of a theological content which required corresponding public emphasis. Neglect of this aspect led to the gradual official abandonment of the mission. Hill's work was copied by other institutions, and all these combined have done much for the cause of education in Greece. But on the other hand, the Protestant Episcopal Mission in Greece, the first mission of the Episcopal church and one on which much effort, money, and anxiety had been spent, ceased to be, and perhaps is now forgotten, save as the investigations of historians or the interest of advocates of reunion may bring it to light.

CHAPTER III.

THE EPISCOPAL MISSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE

The Episcopal church was still attracted to the Near East after the founding of the Greek mission, and directed next its efforts to the carrying of the gospel to the Mohammedans of Persia. But within a few years this enterprise changed to a friendly mission to the Oriental churches, with Constantinople as its center. In the history of the mission, there are two distinct stages: the first being from 1839 to 1844, and the second from 1845 to 1850. Let us first deal with the chief figure of the first stage.

The Rev. Horatio Southgate was born in Portland, Maine, on July 5, 1812, and was educated at Bowdoin College. On graduating in 1832 he went to Andover Theological Seminary to prepare for the Congregational ministry, but because of a change in his views he withdrew and joined the Episcopal church. He now received deacon's orders, and in 1835¹ he was appointed by the Board to visit the Near East and to study the missionary possibilities of Persia, Turkey, and especially Syria and Egypt.² He sailed for the East on April 24, 1836, and after two years returned and was ordained to the priesthood, October 3, 1839, leaving the following year for Constantinople.³

¹ *Spirit of Missions* (February, 1836), 39, 40.

² H. Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Persia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia. The Report of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, (1836), 95, in announcing the appointment speaks of "Horatio Southgate, Jr., a young man of extraordinary promise and about to enter the Ministry" who "has long had his attention directed to this sphere of duty, and possessed himself of much valuable information."

³ See William Stephens Perry, *The Episcopate in America*, under "H. Southgate." After his return to America, Southgate organized St. Luke's Church in Portland, Maine, in 1851; he was rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston, 1852-57; and of Zion Church, New York City, 1859-72. He received the degree of S. T. D. from Columbia Col-

Southgate's writings reveal abundantly his special qualifications for work in the region to which he was designated. His *Journals* and his interpretation of the Near East of that period are of permanent value. One of the best accounts of the religious situation in the Levant of that day is in a sermon he preached on the eve of his departure;⁴ and with it may be compared a lecture he gave in 1844 on the Eastern church and illustrating again the qualities of his earlier deliverance.⁵

Southgate in the first instance went out as a missionary to the Mohammedans, and at first had little interest in the Eastern churches.⁶ But by 1836 there is a change, for he writes then that since going to the East he had "become more deeply interested than formerly in the Missions among the Eastern Christians as well for the encouragement which they present in themselves as for their intimate connection with the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom among the Mohammedans."⁷

The change of interest may have come about because of the deep impression made upon him by the Laymen's Mission sent to Assyria by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge with a view to establishing friendly relations between the Church of England and the Nestorian church.⁸ His interest in the Eas-

lege in 1845, and from Trinity in 1846. He died in Astoria, New York, in 1894. His chief works are: *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Persia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia*, 2 vols., (1841); *A Visit to the Syrian Church of Mesopotamia*" (1844); *A Treatise on the Antiquity, Doctrine, Ministry, and Worship of the Anglican Church*, (1849, in modern Greek); *The War in the East* (1855).

4 *Annual Report of the Board* (1836), 95.

5 *Spirit of Missions* (Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1845).

6 *Vindication of the Rev. Horatio Southgate*. Constantinople Dec. 6, 1843 and Jan. 9, 1844, (New York, 1844).

7 *Spirit of Missions* (May, 1836), 150 (Southgate's Journal).

8 George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, (London, 1852), 2 vols., Introduction xiv. The mission consisted of three laymen one of whom, Mr. Rassam, was himself a Nestorian from Assyria. See also Selborne, *Memorials, Family and Personal*, I, 262. Southgate writes: "Besides investigation their Mission has another and very important design: the establishment of friendly relations between the Anglican and the Nestorian Church. It is, I believe, the first instance of a Mission commenced on thoroughly Episcopal principles. The explorers go to the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church as delegates from the Church of England. They will inform him of the constitution and doctrines

tern churches was in all likelihood further deepened by an interview with the Rev. George Tomlinson, secretary of the above-named society, who mentioned that he intended to recommend the establishment of a mission to the Jacobites and who expressed his conviction that the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church "might render to each other the most efficient aid, and might, by pursuing the same line of policy, more effectually secure the single end which both would have in view."⁹

In accordance with these indications he recommended to his Society the founding of a mission to the Syrian Christians of Mesopotamia, basing his argument on the comparative freedom of the Jacobite church from corruptions, on the settled condition of the country now that the Egyptian war was over,¹⁰ on the eagerness of the Jacobite Christians for instruction, and on the ground that the Mesopotamian churches were episcopal in their organization.

Acting on this report, the Board proceeded to establish the Mission to the Near East,¹¹ which had also been urged by the Rev. John J. Robertson after his investigation at Constantinople in 1837.¹² In his letter to the Board, Southgate had urged this step on the ground that about one-fourth of the population at the capital was Greek; that, although the patriarch and clergy were

of the Anglican Church and will propose a correspondence between him and the head of that Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury. They will offer him the aid of the English Church for the instruction of his people in religious and human knowledge. They will propose that for this purpose, priests from the Church of England come out and place themselves among his own clergy, to be subjected to the order and discipline of the Nestorian Church, and to be engaged in the work of religious and secular instruction. Such is the plan of the Mission, so far as it can be formed before investigation, and my own observations have satisfied me that it is the only plan upon which Missions from the Church of England or of America to the churches of the East should be formed . . ."

9 *Spirit of Missions* (February, 1840), 62-63.

10 The reference is to the hostilities between Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and the Sultan, 1831-1841.

11 *Annual Report of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society* (1839), 265.

12 *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1838), 177 ff., (Letter from Robertson, dated Syra, Dec. 20, 1837).

opposed to missionary operations by foreign societies, and although books and papers published in Greece were looked upon with suspicion, still the Greeks everywhere thirsted for knowledge and were easily accessible; and that the missionaries of the American Board, Goodell and Dwight, were devoting themselves to the Armenians, though Goodell had to some small extent been interesting himself also in the Greeks.¹³

That the Episcopal church wished scrupulously to avoid trespassing upon a sister Society's field is clear from official statements made about this time. But the ecclesiastical Instructions given to its missionaries were unfortunate in that they contained the suggestion that they might direct their attention not only to Syrians and Greeks but also to the Armenians; an inconsistency which, as will appear in the sequel, later caused considerable friction.¹⁴ The mission was established in 1839, but the Episcopal Society, sensitive in respect of any interference with the work of a sister organization, explicitly stated that no encroachment was intended upon the special mission field of that Board in Turkey, and made the appointments not to the Armenians, but to the Greeks of Constantinople and to the Syrians of Mesopotamia. "While the Committee," says the *Report* for 1838, "cannot suppose that pre-occupancy by one Missionary Society, should of itself prevent the labors of another, they grant that circumstances may often render the yielding to such pre-occupancy expedient and just. Such circumstances they believe exist in the present instance."¹⁵

The missionaries appointed were Robertson, who was abroad at the time, and Southgate. The former was sent to the Greeks of Constantinople; the latter to the Jacobites in Syria with the town of Mardin, the new residence of the Syrian patriarch, as his headquarters.¹⁶ The Foreign Committee through its secretary,

¹³ *Spirit of Missions* (May, 1836), 150.

¹⁴ See below 46 ff.

¹⁵ *Annual Report, Spirit of Missions* (August, 1838), 256.

¹⁶ See the Foreign Committee's Instructions below. The nature of Southgate's appointment was in accordance with his own wishes *Spirit of Missions* (Feb., 1840), 56 ff. (i. e., letter from him, dated Portland, Dec. 18, 1839).

John A. Vaughan, gave special personal Instructions to Southgate, of which the most important sections for the present purpose are the following:

You will keep steadily in view the unity of the Church. While your own obligations will lead you to avoid compromising the principles of Protestant faith and practice, you will find every motive leading you, in recognizing the apostolical character of these Christian Churches, to aid in averting the evils of schism. In all that pertains to the ministerial function, you have carefully considered the rights of those who bear spiritual rule. You will avoid all that shall interfere with these rights, and, in laboring to promote piety, the Committee are assured that you will endeavour, on every proper occasion, to promote also the Christian integrity of those Churches, within whose pale you may reside. The dangers which threaten this integrity from without, and from the unguarded zeal of religious inquiry within, you have carefully observed and weighed; and, by the blessing of God, you may be an instrument in averting them.

You will also keep in view the ultimate co-operation of those churches, when imbued with the Spirit of Christ, in the spread of His Gospel. In drawing attention to the word of God and the public standards of faith, as the rule of Christian conduct, you will be led back to the *primitive* example of those very churches, once so full of the Spirit of our Redeemer. You have dwelt much on the power of these Churches, when again imbued with the same Spirit and holding forth the word of life, by a holy conversation, in fulfilling the gracious designs of the Saviour. The very position of those Christians—their character as natives of the East—their example when exerted in the power of the Gospel, on opposing forms of error, mark them as objects of peculiar interest. A lively faith, then, will suggest that you may do much, in preparing a powerful instrument, hereafter, to bear upon the world. In pointing them to this, you show them alike the spirit of primitive Christianity and the professed object of your own Church.¹⁷

The Official Instructions, of an "Ecclesiastical character," came from the presiding bishop of the church, Alexander V. Griswold.¹⁸ These agree with the foregoing, as is seen from the following paragraphs:

In the intercourse or correspondence which may be allowed you with the bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities there, be careful to state explicitly what are our views in this missionary enterprise; that we would scrupulously avoid all offensive intrusion within the jurisdiction of our Episcopal brethren, nor would we intermeddle in their Church affairs. Our great desire is to commence and to promote a friendly intercourse between the two branches of the one catholic and apostolic Church; to impart to our brethren in that country any knowledge of the Scriptures

¹⁷ From *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1840), 176-179.

¹⁸ Given in full in *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1840), 210-214.

and of the doctrines of Christ, which, through the Lord's goodness, we may have obtained, and gladly to receive any such light from them. We would unite hand in hand with them, in the great and noble work of extending the Redeemer's Kingdom, and saving the souls of men. . . .

You may further state to them, that many of those called Protestants, have rejected and are still so opposed to Episcopacy and Confirmation and the use of Liturgies, that an intimate fellowship and connection with them is at present impracticable. While the Church of Rome has so corrupted the religion of Christ, and makes such exorbitant claims to universal power, treating as heretics those who do not embrace her errors and submit to her unauthorized domination; that with her the prospect of a Christian fellowship is not less discouraging. Under such circumstances, our thoughts and affections are particularly directed and strongly drawn to our brethren of the Eastern Churches, who, we believe, agree with us of the Protestant Ep. Church, in what is most essential. . . ."

From the outset, Southgate is found reiterating that the mission is based on the "Episcopal Principle,"¹⁹ as summarized in the Instructions, personal and official.

It is not difficult to see how this might be made to mean that fellowship is possible between the Episcopal church and the Eastern churches because they all have the same form of government, though in doctrine and practice the disagreement may be profound; and on the other hand that whereas in doctrine according to the standards of the Episcopal church there is agreement with Evangelical²⁰ bodies, the difference in organization and the absence of traditional Catholic usage are considerations serious enough to render such fellowship inexpedient.

In 1842, owing to ill-health and domestic cares, Robertson resigned and returned to the United States,²¹ thus leaving Southgate in sole charge, and responsible for the application of the "Principle" of the mission. This assumed a threefold reference, namely, to the Eastern churches, to the Church of England, and to the Evangelicals.

During the period under consideration there was on the part of Anglicanism, in England and America, a renewal of effort

19 *e. g.*, Letter from Southgate, in *Spirit of Missions* (Feb., 1839), 51-52.

20 The word "Evangelical," as stated in the preface, is used to designate Protestant and mainly non-Episcopal churches.

21 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1842), 210; (Nov., 1842), 351-2.

toward an understanding with the Eastern churches. The Rev. G. Tomlinson, secretary of the S. P. C. K., and later first Anglican bishop of Gibraltar, visited the East in 1839-40 for the purpose of renewing intercourse between the two churches. In October, 1839, he reached Constantinople, bringing with him special letters of commendation from the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London.²² With reference to his visit to Athens earlier that year Southgate says: "His interviews with the Bishop in Athens seem to have been employed in explaining the character of the English Church, and its position with reference to the Churches of the East. The Bishops were made particularly to understand that the English Church was not to be classed either with Lutherans or Calvinists, that it had no missionaries in the East, and that it was not responsible for the acts of the few who belonged to its own clergy,²³ as they were not sent by the Church nor acting with its authority."²⁴ And at Constantinople Tomlinson "explained to the Patriarch the institution of the English Church and the relation in which it stands to the Eastern Churches. He dwelt much upon the conservative and Catholic character of the former, and its friendly disposition towards the mother church of the East."²⁵

22 G. Tomlinson, *Report of a Journey to the Levant* (no date, c. 1841); Shaw, *Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church*, 142-149.

23 This was particularly directed against the Church Missionary Society. See Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, I. Ch. xxvi, etc.; E. B. Pusey, *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury* (1842), 116 f.

24 *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1841, Southgate's Journal, Oct. 26, 1840), 175.

25 *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1841). Hill, in his account of Tomlinson's visit to Athens, *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1841), 218, Annual Report, is more guarded in his comments. After describing the purpose of the visit he goes on: "upon the whole he was well received by the President of the Synod, and . . . it is highly probable his mission will be ultimately productive of much good. As might have been expected, however, his objects were at first misunderstood, his views misrepresented, and a thousand suspicions fomented by designing men . . ."

See also a modern Greek account by one contemporary with the event: Constantine Oikonomos, *Remains* (Athens, 1864). II: *History of the Independent Church of Greece*, 1821-1852, 457 ff. This gives the text of the "letters commendatory" brought by Tomlinson. It adds, "Among other things he declared sincerely, that the Anglican Church has no connection whatever with the Bible Societies, and so

In the course of his regular visitation Tomlinson, now bishop of Gibraltar, visited Constantinople in 1843. Concerning this visit Southgate writes, "Early in May I accompanied the Bishop of Gibraltar in his visit to the Greek Patriarch. . . . He is the first English Bishop whose official duties have brought him to 'New Rome'. . . . It was more like the bringing of the long-severed East and West together, than any event in our own Church History which has occurred for centuries. One could hardly repress new and strange emotions at the sight of an English Prelate defining to an Oriental Patriarch the metes and limits of his jurisdiction, and showing how far he was from any intrusion in coming hither to look after the scattered sheep of his own flock, in a strange land. It was pleasant, at least, to see the welcome given to him in this character, and the acknowledgment, that it was the bounden duty of a Church to look after and care for its distant members—that it was altogether an authorized and necessary act."²⁶

The procedure in connection with Tomlinson's visit represents also the method consistently followed by the American Episcopal Mission, namely, that of working through the local patriarchs and other ecclesiastics, whether Greek or Armenian.²⁷

From the outset it was recognized that in any approach to the East it would be advisable to collaborate with the officials of

far from approving she disapproves of whatever suspicions and displeasure the missionaries in Greece and elsewhere have caused among the Orthodox Churches through the circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular, and of tracts besides; and that, if the Greek church were willing, it would be easy to publish the Holy Scriptures, and even the Holy Fathers, in London, or possibly in Greece, under the supervision of learned persons of Greece, and at the expense of the English Church." In a footnote Oikonomos draws attention to the fact that Tomlinson, in his *Report of a Journey to the Levant* (c. 1841) seems clearly to disapprove of the efforts of the non-Episcopal missionaries, and that he rather commends the Greek refusal to have the Scriptures translated in the vulgar speech, and, says Oikonomos, "Tomlinson presents our own view on that subject."

²⁶ *Spirit of Missions* (Jan., 1844), 23, Report for May to Oct., 1843.

²⁷ *Spirit of Missions*, (Oct., 1844), Southgate's Report for the year ending April, 1844. Also *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1847), 444-459. Letter from the Rev. J. W. Miles, in reply to inquiries addressed to him by the Foreign Committee, dated Charleston, S. C., Aug., 1847.

the Church of England. Thus the Foreign Committee declared that they "do not agree with those who think that the whole work of Missions in the East should be left to the Church of England. At the same time they earnestly thank God for the interest which she is manifesting on the subject; and earnestly desire the fullest measure of cooperation on the part of our missionaries with theirs. They ardently respond to the expressions of the Bishop of London²⁸, in a recent letter to the Rev. Mr. Southgate: 'Our Bishop at Jerusalem we trust will be a useful medium of communication between the Eastern Churches and our own; coupling with our own the sister Church of America, upon whose friendly and zealous cooperation we confidently rely.'"²⁹ The missionary acted in keeping with these sentiments, but unfortunately it was with reference to only one school within the Church of England; he showed sympathy with the Tractarians, but marked antipathy toward the Church Missionary Society which represented the Evangelical section of the same church.³⁰

Southgate's interpretation of his Instructions was that fellowship between Anglicans and Evangelicals was unnatural and therefore not to be sought. He was disposed in later years to deny any change in his views in this regard, but there is evidence that he was mistaken in claiming for himself such consistency. There was a marked difference between his friendliness toward Congregationalists and others during his visit in 1836-1838, and his aloofness and even active opposition after 1841.³¹ During that earlier period not only was he happy in the fellowship of non-Episcopal Christians generally whom in his travels he had chanced to meet, but he also had free and pleasant intercourse with the men of the American Board, joining in their meetings, and taking part with them in prayer.³² But on his return to the East in 1841, now an ordained presbyter, he conspicuously refrained from

28 *i. e.*, Bishop Charles James Blomfield.

29 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1842), 189, Report of the Foreign Committee.

30 See, *e. g.*, footnote 27, *ante*.

31 See below, account of his conflict with the missionaries.

32 *Spirit of Missions* (Sept., 1837, Letter, Constantinople, Feb. 1, 1837), 272.

that earlier fellowship.³³ And it was his application of the Instructions consistently with his newer views that caused friction with the American Board, and ultimately led to the withdrawal of the Episcopal church from the Levant altogether.³⁴

At an early date the Foreign Committee, reflecting the general opinion in the church, showed discontent, and a desire to abandon the mission; for there was little to report each year besides discussions of differences between East and West, the selling of books and tracts, the encouraging of Syrian churches to resist papal encroachments, interviews with Oriental patriarchs and other ecclesiastics, and, on the other hand, violent disputes with the Protestant missionaries from America.

Moreover the Committee became impatient at Southgate's unwillingness to go to Mesopotamia, the field of his original appointment.³⁵ Reluctantly at last they came to grant his request that he should stay at Constantinople.³⁶ But misgivings persisted regarding the Eastern missions, and in August, 1843, they contemplated the expediency of discontinuing the mission to Crete,³⁷ gradually reducing the expenses of the work at Athens, "with a view to its ultimate relinquishment or transfer," and concentrating their efforts in the Syrian church. "The mission at *Constantinople*," they say, "which, since the return of Dr. Robertson, has been regarded chiefly, as preparatory to the more direct prosecution of missionary effort in the Syrian Church, has been discontinued by the unanimous action of the Committee, after prolonged deliberation."³⁸

The Board at its annual meeting went against this reasoned statement of its Foreign Committee, and the Committee had to

33 Arthur Cleveland Coxe, *Sermon in behalf of the Mission at Constantinople* (1846), 19; also note J, where he shows there had been a difficulty similar to that of Southgate's in the attitude of the bishop of Connecticut to non-Episcopalians at home.

34 Discussed more fully below, in Chapter IV, (on the A. B. C. F. M.).

35 *Spirit of Missions* (April, 1843), 123.

36 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1843), 238.

37 It was abandoned in 1844. See *ante*, Chapter II, footnote 68.

38 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1843), 284, Annual Report of Foreign Committee.

yield. But a new situation arose immediately after that annual meeting, for in the meantime Southgate had received the Foreign Committee's decision and now wrote declining it on the ground that he understood his appointment by the Board to be limited to Constantinople, and indicated his purpose to return to the United States.³⁹ He did not actually do so, but entered instead into negotiations with the London "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" with a view to staying at Constantinople as their agent, suggesting however that the Foreign Committee in the United States should pay a small part of his expenses, considering the assistance he might be able to render to their mission in Mesopotamia. In May, 1844, he was still at Constantinople, waiting to hear from London. Finally the Foreign Committee at the request of the Board agreed to continue the mission to Constantinople, but stipulated that no other missionary be appointed along with Southgate, and that the duties of the latter should be confined to the Greeks and the Syrians. This was done accordingly, and Southgate accepted the appointment.⁴⁰

At the suggestion of Mr. Southgate, the Board in 1843 established a Mesopotamian Mission and appointed as missionaries the Rev. J. W. Miles of South Carolina,⁴¹ and the Rev. S. A. Taylor of Maryland.⁴² These missionaries reached Constantinople in February, 1844, but Miles, soon after his arrival and much to the embarrassment of the Committee, showed himself unwilling to proceed to Mesopotamia. The Committee however insisted that he should go to the sphere of his original appointment, the only concession being that Southgate himself was allowed to remain at Constantinople for work among the Greeks.⁴³

The Mesopotamian episode was of short duration and of little importance. Ill-health compelled Taylor to come home in

39 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1843), 289 ff.

40 *Spirit of Missions*, *ibid.*, footnote, 290, 292.

41 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1843), 289.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*, also, *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1843), 238.

January, 1847.⁴⁴ Miles resigned, and returned to America later in the same year. Much more important and of far reaching consequences was the Armenian development.

This new interest of Mr. Southgate's makes its appearance in 1844. A letter from him contains a request that he be permitted to visit America in 1845, or else that a colleague be sent out to commence work among the Armenians.⁴⁵ But to this new plan the Foreign Committee was resolutely opposed, on the ground that it was contrary to the action of the Board and to the Instructions given to the missionary. The Board however, rejecting the report of its Foreign Committee, appointed a Special Committee of five, which by a vote of four to one came to the conclusion that the Armenian was a field "open for the labors of as many missionaries as this Board may have in its power to send, without interfering with any other mission now established among them."⁴⁶

Southgate, who was in the United States at this time,⁴⁷ discusses at length this matter in his Report for 1844. He refers to the Armenian Mission of the American Board as a failure, and not likely to last another ten years, since it did not go first to the Oriental ecclesiastics. He then speaks of his own work for the Armenians, and of the visits or letters from Armenian clergy which led him thereto, and the frequent requests for assistance. "I say then, that our labouring for them is a settled thing in point of fact, and nothing remains for us but to form our plans and do the work systematically."⁴⁸

To this Armenian enterprise the Board unfortunately gave

44 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1847), 234; *Spirit of Missions* (October, 1847), 362-3, gives an obituary notice copied from the *Christian Witness* referring to Samuel A. Taylor who died in August of that year, being only 29 years old. In the notice appear the words, "The circumstances connected with the mission at Constantinople must have given pain to his sensitive mind, whatever may have been his views and sympathies."

45 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1844), 264 f.

46 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1844), 231 f.

47 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1845, Annual Report), 248.

48 *Spirit of Missions* (October, 1844, Southgate's Report, year ending April 1, 1844), 357.

its approval; unfortunately, because it was not in accordance with the pledges given to the world and to the Episcopal Church on the occasion of the establishment of the Near East Mission, because it was a contradiction of the Instructions given to the missionaries when they first went out in 1839, and because it was bound to be interpreted as an act of hostility to the work of the American Board.

It was but natural that the insistence on the "Episcopal principle" should lead Southgate himself to aspire to the office of a bishop. Bishop Tomlinson's coming to Constantinople in May, 1844, seems to have strengthened that desire. "The visit of the Bishop," he says, "has been productive of eminently beneficial results. It has given, if I may so speak, a character to the English Church. The appearance of a bishop is *prima facie* evidence of the existence and regular constitution of a Church, and so I know it has been regarded by both Patriarchs and Bishops in this city, who had before no adequate conception of the fact that there exists a Western Episcopacy besides that of Rome, and no intelligent and practical conviction of the being of a Church among those in the West, who are not subject to the Pope. . . . It is in their real character as branches of the Church of Christ, that (the Anglican and American Churches) can alone exert their legitimate influence upon the Churches of the East."⁴⁹ Later in the year, in the letter in which he advocated the concentration of the Mission in Constantinople, he argued that a condition of its success would be "the appointment of a Bishop, to reside at Constantinople, and to preside over the Mission . . . no Episcopal Mission, where there are several laborers should be without one"; and among considerations of urgency in this connection he mentions (i) that a bishop is the only proper representative of the church abroad; (ii) that a bishop is needed for other missions and therefore this one ought to form no exception; (iii) that this step would place the mission on a sure basis, and take away its ephemeral character; (iv) that Protestant Episcopal Christians

⁴⁹ *Spirit of Missions* (January, 1844).

should avail themselves fully of their privileges as Episcopalians; and (v) that "it will place us in our distinctive and real character before the Eastern Churches, and nothing else will do it."⁵⁰

The idea of a bishopric for the Mediterranean was nothing new. The Rev. John J. Robertson, as far back as 1836, had written concerning "the expediency of appointing a Missionary Bishop for the countries bounding on the Mediterranean, and contiguous to it, upon the reasonable supposition that the Church will send an increased number of Missionaries to Greece, Turkey, Syria, Persia, Egypt." He went on to say, "I trust our Church will feel the importance of exhibiting its ministry in all its Orders wherever they have a body of Missionaries; and thus show, that they have at least as much wisdom as the Roman Catholics, who have bishops in all these regions."⁵¹

An even earlier suggestion of this nature is found in the *Proceedings of the Episcopal General Convention* of 1835. The proposal to authorize the church to appoint bishops for missionary districts, in America or in foreign lands, had been under discussion. The Rev. James C. Richmond, then of Illinois and later of Rhode Island, made a plea for the appointment of a bishop to work among the Turks, who had special claims upon the interests of the church which "in her prayer for all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics" does not recognize the Turks as heathen. The church, he continued "has prayed for some ages for the conversion of the Turks, and finds that her prayer does not convert them. It is time for her to stretch out her hands and *do*, as well as pray. The blessing of GOD will follow faith which is operative. We are told that there is no place ready for a bishop in foreign lands. Sir, Constantinople is ready. An American bishop would be influential there. A presbyter will be passed by unnoticed, but send a bishop to the city of the Turks, and in a few years he might place a copy of the New Testament in the hands of every Dervish in Constantinople."⁵² Six years

⁵⁰ *Spirit of Missions* (November, 1844), 392.

⁵¹ *Spirit of Missions* (October, 1836), 311 f.

⁵² *The Churchman* (New York, Oct. 3, 1835), 947 (re August 31, 1835).

later this clergyman⁵³ applied to the house of bishops to be consecrated a missionary bishop to the Turks, offering to undertake the mission at his own expense. When his proposal was rejected, he went to England hoping to attain his object at the hands of the English bishops, but there also he was unsuccessful.

The year 1841 saw the establishment of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem.⁵⁴ To this there had been furious opposition on the part of the Tractarians in England, and a protest had been raised against the supposed outrage of setting up an Anglican bishop within the proper area of the Eastern church; but in the light of Robertson's suggestion, and Richmond's agitation, the move could not have been as unheard of as its opponents had come to believe.

The Foreign Committee was not prepared to listen to the scheme. Their arguments against it were submitted to the Board, but they have not been made public.⁵⁵ Southgate, however, was in the United States once more and the Committee decided to leave the matter of the bishopric to the Board which in turn recommended on October 21, 1844, to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church the appointment of a bishop for Africa, one for China, and one for Constantinople.⁵⁶ Horatio Southgate was elected to that office, and was consecrated on the 26th of October, 1844; the mission to Constantinople was reconstituted; and after a few months in the United States the new bishop left for the Near East.

53 On James C. Richmond, See J. S. Stone, *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), 426 ff.

54 The Jerusalem bishopric was founded in 1841 in collaboration with the Church of Prussia, its object being to care jointly for any Protestant congregations in the Holy Land, and, more particularly, to have Protestant Christianity officially represented in the Levant. See also author's *The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church*, chap. IV.

55 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1846), 266 ff. Review of the history of this mission.

56 *Spirit of Missions* (November, 1844), 419, action of the General Convention of the church, October 21, 1844.

THE SECOND STAGE

According to the official records the reconstituted mission to Constantinople began in 1845.⁵⁷ It came to an end in 1850. The history of those years is concerned in the main with four conflicts.

It has been shown that during the earlier period there had been frequent differences between Mr. Southgate and the committee, and that in the matters of the Armenian work he had carried his point by going directly to the Board. It is not surprising, therefore, that the following years were marked by a continuance of strained relations. In 1846 the editors of the *Spirit of Missions* refer sympathetically to their readers' complaints at the scarcity of news from Constantinople in the periodical.⁵⁸ Two years later the Board began to appreciate the point of view of its Foreign Committee, and expressed the opinion that Bishop Southgate should hereafter send the reports of his doings through the constituted agency of the Board and of the church, the Foreign Committee, as was done by other bishops.⁵⁹

Southgate now began to request that the Foreign Committee should be given but little control over the mission,⁶⁰ seeing it did not have "the happiness of their approbation";⁶¹ and the same regret is expressed in his last report to the Board in which he also tendered his resignation.⁶² It is not difficult to see from his

57 The full name of the mission was "The Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States to the Christian Churches in Turkey"; but commonly, "The Mission to Constantinople." *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1884), 393.

58 *Spirit of Missions* (May, 1846), 151 etc. Southgate informed the Committee that he would begin sending to newspapers material or information regarding the mission: "I will also write for the *Spirit of Missions*, but it seems to me that a monthly publication should be the repository of permanently valuable documents." *Ibid.*, (July, 1846; July, 1847; Aug., 1847.

59 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1848), 202, report of a Special Committee, appointed to consider the Foreign Committee's report.

60 *Spirit of Missions* (Aug., 1848), 270, Southgate's report, dated May, 1848.

61 *Spirit of Missions* (Aug., 1849) 292. Letter from Southgate, Sept. 18, 1848.

62 *Journal of Protestant Episcopal Convention*, 1850, Appendix, 210.

utterances that the real reason for disagreement was theological, and that the question at issue was the attitude toward non-Episcopal Christianity. His report for 1848 shows that he is at odds with the Committee because they seem to give too much heed to the arguments and the point of view of the American Board and its representatives: "We have had, twice within the last two years, the extraordinary spectacle of the Foreign Committee presenting for consideration before the Board, or its special Committees, documents emanating originally or immediately from the most violent enemies of the Mission and of our Church."⁶³

From the first, and particularly from its reconstitution in 1844, the mission was operated in support of Tractarian theology. Keen interest was taken in the work by the members of the General Theological Seminary in New York—then the home of the Oxford Movement in America.⁶⁴ It had even been arranged to send along with Southgate a pronounced Anglo-Catholic, the Rev Augustus F. Hewit,⁶⁵ and only the consideration of the effect on general sentiment led to the abandonment of the plan; for Hewit

⁶³ *Spirit of Missions* (Aug., 1848), 271. Southgate's annual report, May 5, 1848.

⁶⁴ Clarence E. Walworth, *The Oxford Movement in America, or, Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary* (New York, 1895). (Reminiscences by a student at the Seminary in the 'forties, who later joined the Roman Catholic Church).

⁶⁵ See Walworth, *op. cit.* He was the son of a Congregational minister, Nathaniel Hewit. Aversion to the Calvinistic tenets of the Congregationalism of that day kept him from becoming a member of that church till after graduation from Amherst College. He then began to prepare for the ministry at East Windsor Seminary in Connecticut (later known as the Hartford Theological Seminary). Scarcely had he completed his course and obtained his license to preach when he changed his views and entered the Episcopal church, with the understanding that he be allowed to interpret the 39 Articles in the sense of Tract 90. Newman's secession in 1845 hastened his own removal. He entered the Roman church in 1846 and was ordained priest in 1847. He was from the first associated with the Rev. Isaac F. Hecker, the founder of the "Paulist Fathers," and on the death of the latter in 1888 was himself appointed Superior General of the Society. He also founded the magazine (still continuing), *The Catholic World*.

A. F. Hewit, *Sermons of the Rev. Francis A. Baker, Priest of the Congregation of St. Paul, with a Memoir of his Life*. 6th ed. (New York, n. d. 1865?), 17ff., gives the letter from the American Episcopal bishop to the patriarch of Constantinople through Southgate. Mr. Hewit gives an account of his connection with the mission, 50-52.

was known to be an advanced Tractarian, with leanings toward Roman Catholicism.⁶⁶ It was well understood therefore in the church that here was a determined effort to present the "Catholic" side of Anglicanism to the churches of the East.

In the missionary's report for 1848 complaint is made against the feeling which has made the mission from the beginning an object of "attacks from without."⁶⁷ There was ground for the complaint, though the attack referred to was rather from within; that is, from Episcopalians whose sympathies and spiritual kinship were with the Evangelical denominations. The opposition was clearly but an extension of that directed against the mission at Athens; but here there were stronger grounds for criticism. The Protestant section of the Episcopal church—at this time the majority—had become seriously alarmed at the growth of Tractarianism in America. No loyal Churchman, it is true, was likely to have doubts as to the advisability and superiority of an episcopal organization, or the validity of the historic episcopate which his church had retained. But to raise all this into the one principle upon which a mission was founded was felt to be the undervaluing, and even the denial, of the "Reformed" character of Anglicanism. Grave misgivings prevailed, therefore, because it was felt that at Constantinople an attempt was being made to force the church to support officially the Tractarian interpretation of Anglicanism, and because on the other hand, at a mission which the church as a whole was called upon to support, there was a minimizing of the distinctive contribution of the Episcopal church to evangelical religion.

The critical attitude of the church at home was responsible for the inadequate financial support given to the work. The pledges made when the mission was renewed, and which were intended to meet the greater part of the missionary's salary, remained unfulfilled.⁶⁸ In explanation of the general apathy or

66 Walworth, *op. cit.*, 73. See also Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

67 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1848), 271.

68 *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1846), 245.

antagonism, reference is made to "the strongly conflicting views held on this subject by prominent friends of Missions in our own Church . . . (and) the few satisfactory results obtained in the prosecution of the Mission, so far as addressed to the Greek Church at Constantinople."⁶⁹

In 1848 a special resolution of the Foreign Committee enacted that "none but monies specially contributed to it should at present be sent . . . to the Athens or Constantinople Mission, the others (being) exempted from the operation of this Act."⁷⁰ Such monies, however, proved inadequate and irregular, and Bishop Southgate on one occasion, finding himself in great straits, was obliged to resort to borrowing.⁷¹ On receipt of the news of this embarrassment steps were immediately taken to relieve the situation, yet not before receiving Southgate's severe letter of protest.⁷² His complaint was certainly just; but the Committee's action would not have been taken if it had not been supported by public opinion.

The last two years of the mission presented the unusual spectacle of a bishop without any presbyters, because the Rev. Samuel Penny, who had been sent out in May, 1845, had been obliged because of ill-health to leave for home the following year,⁷³ and Taylor and Miles had already returned to the United States in 1847.⁷⁴

In 1847 Mr. Penny wrote a statement regarding the mission in which he set out to correct certain "*false impressions*, not simply in reference to the character of the Mission generally, and the qualifications of our Missionary Bishop, but more particularly circumstances and the motives which have induced Bishop Southgate's former coadjutors to leave their post of labor, and return

69 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1846), 266.

70 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1848), 269; Southgate's Report for 1848.

71 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1849), report of special committee at annual meeting, June, 1849.

72 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1848), Southgate's report.

73 *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1845), 193f.; (August, 1846), 263-4.

74 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1847), 234. See *ante* p. 45.

to their native land"75 He proceeds to defend strongly the bishop, but admits that "he may be wanting in some of those traits of character, both theoretical and practical, which would enable him to meet the large, not to say extravagant demands of some within the Church."⁷⁶

Though the Foreign Committee and its periodical have not given detailed information regarding the relations of the bishop with his presbyters, the suggestion occurs more than once that he did not take his colleagues sufficiently into his confidence.⁷⁷ The same inference may be drawn from a document prepared by a special committee of the Board in 1852 on the "Eastern Missions of the Church": "The two missionary presbyters," it states, "who after a trial varying from one to two years, returned, having accomplished only a familiarity with the languages to which they had devoted their attention, expressed privately to the Committee their unwillingness to continue in a mission, the plans of which they could not thoroughly understand, and which, so far as understood, they believed would prove fruitless."⁷⁸

The dispute with the Foreign Committee, the differences with Evangelical Churchmen at home, the disagreement with colleagues, were matters serious enough; but it was the conflict with the missionaries of the American Board that bore directly upon the prospects of the Episcopal mission. That controversy, which represented the opposing theories regarding the method of approach to the Eastern churches, will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter which deals with the early history of the American Board in the Levant. But it is well at this stage to anticipate in brief the nature of the dispute.

The charges brought against Southgate by the missionaries of the American Board related in the main to his personal unfriendliness, and to his interference with their work. And not

75 Some information seems to have been suppressed here. *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1847), 438.

76 *Spirit of Missions* (November, 1847), 439. Letter dated New York, October 19, 1847.

77 *Spirit of Missions* (November, 1847), 455.

78 *Spirit of Missions* (November, 1852), 387.

without cause they complain of his attitude. During the period 1836-38, when Evangelical ideas were still agreeable to him, he took pleasure in the fellowship of the other missionaries. "We lived with him," they write, "in terms of the most friendly Christian fellowship, and expressed to him our entire assurance that if he came to labor permanently at Constantinople we should have no difficulty in acting . . . in perfect harmony and Christian love. . . . He had sat down to the Communion table with us, receiving the sacrament from our hands and also taking part in the administration of it. He had attended public services regularly with us on the Sabbath, sometimes listening to our preaching, sometimes preaching for us; and often had he bent the knee together with us before the throne of grace in prayer, he taking his turn. . . . And he seemed to make little or nothing of those differences which separate Evangelical Christians, and to be determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified. . . . He however returned from America a changed man. We were prepared to receive him with the utmost Christian cordiality, and live with him on the same terms of the most perfect peace as before. But we found him entirely metamorphosed by his visit to America, and determined to act on the most exclusive High Church principles. As a man he professed to be prepared to live with us on terms of civility; but as a Christian, and especially as a Christian minister, he seemed to wish to have no visible relations with us. He would not consent even to have a prayer-meeting in common which we formally proposed, lest it should be supposed by others that he considered us as true ministers of Christ equally with himself."⁷⁹

Southgate's *Reply* contained counter-charges, criticizing the missionaries for adopting in their ministrations the gown, prayer-book, and sign of the cross; practices which, according to him, are the peculiar prerogative of churches with an Episcopal ministry and a "Catholic" tradition. The whole letter is a vehement defense in the course of which many points of importance emerge;

⁷⁹ *Mr. Southgate and the Missionaries at Constantinople* (Boston, 1844).

but his justification against the charges brought against him is concerned rather with minor matters and does not meet the point of the criticism. He writes for instance that he never did partake of the sacrament "at their hands" at Constantinople, but only at Broosa, and then only from other Evangelical missionaries; but all that the other side had intended to prove was simply that he had formerly consented to receive it from non-Episcopal missionaries. Again he labors to show that all this had happened before he was ordained priest, that is, before he himself was able to "consecrate"; and further argues that he could not accede to the proposal for a united prayer-meeting because, now that he was head of a mission, it would be tantamount to bringing about the co-operation of the two missions; and this he was not prepared to do.⁸⁰ Yet the criticism was simply that there had come to be in him a change of spirit noticeable by contrast; and this could not be denied.

There is no reason to question the sincerity of Southgate in his contention that his views had undergone no change. But the evidence shows that he was mistaken and that his antipathy to Evangelical missionaries and to Evangelical religion was of recent development. His earlier friendliness is revealed in many utterances. He had been glad, for instance, to praise the work of the American Board among the Nestorians of Persia, admitting that his very high expectations had been exceeded by the reality of what he saw⁸¹ of this work. He is happy in discoursing with approval upon the general methods of the missionaries of the American Board in the East.⁸² And about the missionaries at Constantinople he writes in 1837: "The Missionaries of the American Board resident here maintain public service in English on the Sabbath throughout the winter. Since their commencement the present season I have preached twice. On both occasions, through the Christian courtesy of my brethren, the regular ser-

80 H. Southgate, *A Letter to a friend, in reply to a recent pamphlet, from the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Constantinople* (New York, 1845). See below also, 160f.

81 Southgate, *Narrative of a tour through Armenia*, I, 303 etc.

82 *Ibid.*, 302-307.

vices of our Church have been performed, for the first time in Constantinople.”⁸³

Whether Southgate realized it or not, his friendly feelings had dwindled by the time of his return to the East. This aloofness was accentuated by the visit of Bishop Tomlinson in his episcopal capacity. “The very nature of my Mission,” writes the missionary immediately after that event, “forbids amalgamations with missionaries of other names, since they cannot join me in representing my own Church, and the extensive class of means to which I have just alluded, they do not, and, as non-Episcopalians cannot use—yet I have no war with them, nor has my work any reference to theirs.”⁸⁴ But his changed sentiments involved more than the ignoring of those men: there was positive antagonism, issuing in interference with their work.

The Near East Mission began with expressions of good-will, and with a determination not to interfere with the work of the Congregationalists. Certain it is that the Episcopal church never intended to act in unbrotherly fashion. Unfortunately the course of events seemed to give the lie to all these professions of amity and mutual respect, and the complaints on the part of the missionaries at Constantinople were not without justification.

The regretful incidents to be considered were foreshadowed in the well-meant but misleading sentence in the Instructions, which referred to the possibility of the “cultivation of Christian fellowship with our brethren of the Greek and Armenian Churches.”⁸⁵ Those words startled the American missionaries. They

⁸³ *Spirit of Missions* (Sept., 1837), 272, letter, Constantinople, Feb. 1, 1837.

⁸⁴ *Spirit of Missions* (Jan. 1844), 24.

⁸⁵ The entire paragraph which is from “The Ecclesiastical Instructions” by Bishop Griswold to Messrs. Robertson and Southgate, *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1840), and which immediately precedes the extract at bottom of page 39, *ante*, reads as follows: “There is good reason to hope and to believe that the cultivation of Christian fellowship with our brethren of the Greek and Armenian Churches, and the deportment of our missionaries among them, will have the good effect of awakening the zeal and increasing the love of Christians in both countries; of promoting piety, knowledge of the Scriptures, and pure and undefiled religion among our brethren there; of producing among Pagans, or the disciples of Mahomet, as the case may be, greater re-

early expressed their misgivings to Robertson and Southgate and "they wished to know" says Southgate, "whether we intended to direct our labors to (the Armenians) also. We replied that we had no such intention at present, and when they referred to the word in the Instructions, as seeming to include them with the Greeks, we said that the Bishop doubtless was not minutely acquainted with the designation of our fields, and had used the term in a general way, without any particular thought about it."⁸⁶ Still, the missionaries had reason to be concerned. They had already witnessed one change in the Episcopal mission in that it had turned from its original intention as set forth in 1836 and directed its efforts to the Greeks instead. In an account of the events, the accuracy of which is not challenged by Southgate, they relate that before his first return to America he had intimated that there might be an Episcopal mission to the Greeks at Constantinople. They gave reasons why they considered such a move inexpedient; but, they say, having done so, "We gave Mr. Southgate distinctly to understand that we did not pretend to set up any claim to the sole right of laboring among the Greeks, (for the question related to them alone), on the ground of previous occupancy. . . . He then informed us that he had no doubt that an Episcopal Mission would be established here among the Greeks, and he proposed that we should relinquish the whole Greek field in Constantinople to them."⁸⁷ This they declined to do, since it was a matter pertaining rather to the jurisdiction of the Board. But it was significant that there should be at that early stage a change in the character of the mission.

In defending this change, Southgate took the ground that the field was practically unoccupied, "the Missionaries of the American Board being devoted to other people."⁸⁸ But when

spect for Christians, and more favorable opinion of their religion, and also of obtaining more toleration of it from those whom for the sins of his people, God has, through so many years, permitted to oppress them. If we return to the Lord, he will return to us."

⁸⁶ Southgate, *Letter to a Friend*, 19.

⁸⁷ *Reply of the Missionaries*, 7.

⁸⁸ *Spirit of Missions* (May, 1836), 150, Southgate's Journal.

Miles and Taylor went out, a new interest appeared, and all three now began to agitate for a mission to the Armenians.⁸⁹ Then shortly after there suddenly came the admission on the part of Southgate that, contrary to early declarations and tacit understandings, he had for some time past actually worked extensively among the Armenians. He presented this to the Committee as a *fait accompli*, and one from which there could be no receding.⁹⁰

There is point and justice in the missionaries' protest of May 25, 1844:

Mr. Southgate has always been designated by his Committee as a Missionary or delegate to the Greeks and Jacobites, and they have carefully avoided speaking of him as having anything to do with the Armenians; thus leaving the impression on the public mind that the Episcopal Mission in this city was not designated to interfere with the Mission of the American Board, whose efforts, it is well known, are among the Armenians. Mr. S. himself has also explicitly declared to us, that he had no intention of entering the Armenian field; although he once gave us notice that some labours would be commenced among this class of people, in an entirely different department from any occupied by us, and which were not designed as any interference with our field. But if there is any meaning in the letter of Mr. Southgate . . . , it is that he is actually laboring in the same field with us; for, otherwise, how could he speak of his superior advantages, as an Episcopalian, in gaining an influence with the people, and of our being unwilling that he should avail himself of these advantages. Surely he could not mean to say that we have complained of any influence that he has excited against us, either among the Greeks, or the Jacobites, for we have not a single missionary in Constantinople, sent to either of these people. . . .⁹¹

We beg that you will understand, that we do not claim the right to exclude the Episcopalians from the Armenian field, though we think that in Christian courtesy and Christian wisdom too, they might leave it to us; but we wish to have the fact distinctly known, that they are attempting to cultivate this field.⁹²

That this turn of events became public was due to a remark by the secretary, Dr. Rufus Anderson, at the meeting of the American Board in September, 1843; a remark which led to the appearing of the three important pamphlets, Southgate's *Vindication*, the *Reply of the American Missionaries*, and Southgate's *Letter to a friend* . . . Dr. Anderson, on the occasion indicated,

⁸⁹ See ref. *ante*, 45 f., 53.

⁹⁰ *Spirit of Missions* (Oct., 1844), 357.

⁹¹ *Reply of the . . . Missionaries*, 42.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 43.

had referred to "another untoward influence"⁹³ . . . emanating from a quarter near home, (which) was there to co-operate with (Mr. Badger)—or rather perhaps to use him—to bring round the state of things which has resulted in shutting up Mr. Dwight's Church in Constantinople . . ." On being asked what was the adverse influence to which he was referring "Dr. Anderson replied that as no harm could come from telling the whole truth, he would frankly state—the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Missionary of the Episcopal Society in this country. He has co-operated with Mr. Badger in all the opposition to the Missionary operations of the Board, and has, as far as his influence has gone, coincided with the Papal Missionaries."⁹⁴

It needs to be borne in mind that the present day arrangement of missionary societies whereby the mission fields of the world are properly apportioned was scarcely familiar a century ago. That being the case, no valid criticism can be brought against one society for entering a field already occupied by another. But so far apart were the principles of the two parties at Constantinople, that no interference was possible on the part of Southgate which was not also an effort to counteract what the Congregationalists were doing. Taking upon himself the rôle of defender of the Armenian church, he seized every opportunity to warn Armenians against Western Evangelical influences, and to make them realize that the Evangelicals were without the traditional fasts and feasts and historic Christian observances, and that they lacked what he felt the Eastern churches considered essentials of a church, namely, episcopacy, confirmation, and liturgies; all of which things were both held and valued by the Episcopal church.

In the report for 1844, as already noted, Southgate asked for formal, official recognition of the Armenian work he had been doing. But the Foreign Committee had too high a sense of their pledge to sanction such a departure. In fact one of the outstand-

93 i. e., besides that of the Rev. C. P. Badger, to whom fuller reference is made below in the chapter on the American Board.

94 *New York Observer* (Nov. 18, 1843). Quoted in the *Vindication*.

ing things in the story is the patient, consistent, and honorable attitude of the Episcopal Foreign Committee in the crisis. Nevertheless, the Board, coming under the influence of Southgate who was in America at this time, overruled the decision of its Foreign Committee,⁹⁵ and decided to recommend that as soon as funds could be raised for the purpose, a mission to the Armenians should be established.⁹⁶

The beginnings of the Eastern mission had not been inauspicious. Had it continued as it began, that is to say as a mission to Mohammedans, it probably would have received and retained the general support of the church in America. The initial mistake was made when the church allowed it to be diverted from its original purpose and to become instead nothing more than a friendly approach to the Oriental churches. But even on the question of establishing the mission, in the first instance, there had been lack of unanimity. The judgment of some was that such work should be left to the Church of England, which already was in the Near Eastern field,⁹⁷ and even had a bishop of its own in Jerusalem.⁹⁸ Later on the cause of discontent was that too much expense was being incurred in connection with the work, and that the results were too inadequate.⁹⁹

The misgivings generally felt were in 1846 brought once more by the Foreign Committee to the notice of the church at large. Referring to their Resolution of 1842 they say "they are convinced of the correctness of those views which led them, nearly four years since, to discontinue the Mission: they are persuaded that the plans suggested by Bishop Southgate are on too extensive a scale ever to be brought to practical results, by any means which our Church appears to be inclined to place at his disposal; they conscientiously believe, that no proportionate amount

⁹⁵ *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1884), 235; the member opposed to the resolution was the Rev. James W. Cooke.

⁹⁶ *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1844), annual report.

⁹⁷ *Spirit of Missions* (July, 1842), 203-216 Committee's annual report for 1842.

⁹⁸ On the Jerusalem bishopric, see *ante*, page 49.

⁹⁹ *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1843), 284-5.

of good can be reasonably expected from any expenditure bestowed upon them."¹⁰⁰

This unfavorable attitude only reflects the general discontent prevailing at home on account of the methods followed by the missionary. The strained relations with the American Board on the one hand, and on the other the undue fraternizing with Eastern ecclesiastics, made men wonder whether the Episcopal church as Protestant and Reformed was fortunate in its representative. Some went so far as to say that Southgate, and the mission through him, were being controlled by the Armenian patriarch;¹⁰¹ and it is easy to understand how such an opinion might arise. The dismay and even anger of some of the supporters of the Missionary Society appears in outspoken fashion in the pamphlet by C. W. Andrews, quoted in connection with the mission at Athens. The writer, speaking of Southgate's initial efforts to gather in the Mohammedans of Persia, proceeds: "One of the most curious pieces of Missionary history extant is to be found in the annual reports of the Foreign Committee, following this missionary. They consist of a series of dissolving views, while there was always a pregnant but mysterious future. The Missionary had ceased to be a 'Missionary' (the name created prejudice in the Greek mind) and had become an 'Ambassador'. Flattering accounts were sent home. Something great was certainly to be accomplished, but it was not deemed prudent to divulge it. Slowly and reluctantly it came to be believed that there was nothing in it and never had been."¹⁰²

The endless disagreement with the Foreign Committee, the discontent of the church at large, the dissatisfaction with the nature as well as the conduct of the mission, resulted in the financial embarrassment of which Southgate had just cause to complain. This led him to tender his resignation in May, 1849, and he returned to the United States toward the end of that

100 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1846), 266ff.

101 *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1847), Southgate's report for 1847.

102 C. W. Andrews, *Historic Notes*, 16.

year.¹⁰³ The resignation was accepted, the Committee considering that by it the mission itself also was at an end.¹⁰⁴ The Board however, in 1850 demurred, and there was a move to renew the mission to the "decayed Churches in Asia Minor."¹⁰⁵ Southgate also, though unwilling to return to the East himself, urged its continuance.¹⁰⁶ His argument was that Turkey was "a Missionary station of the Church, by the act of the General Convention in 1844. That act (had) never been rescinded. . . . But if a Mission station, it ought to be occupied"; and he added that much labor and money had been spent upon it, and that all this ought not to be allowed to go for nought.¹⁰⁷

The conclusion of the entire episode is indicated in a Report of a Special Committee presented to the meeting of October 1852: "Under the Resolution of the Board, passed at the Triennial Meeting in 1850, the Foreign Committee are instructed to renew the Mission to the decayed Churches in Asia Minor in such manner as they may deem most suitable to the object. No further action of the Board seems requisite. . . . The following (resolution is) recommended for adoption: 'Resolved: that the subject of Eastern Missions be still left in the discretion of the Foreign Committee, in accordance with the Resolution adopted at the last Triennial Meeting.'"¹⁰⁸ The resolution was adopted; but no further action has been taken by the Episcopal church since.

It now remains to note some of the reasons for the failure of the enterprise.

The first relates to the nature of the Instructions. It was believed by some that these were "shaped almost wholly at the suggestion of the returned Missionary Agents, who caused themselves to be instructed just as they wished (wished?) to be instruct-

103 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1849), 280.

104 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1850), 255.

105 *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1850), 401.

106 *Spirit of Missions* (August, 1851), 379-381.

107 *Ibid.*, 379.

108 *Spirit of Missions* (November, 1852), 365. A report from a sub-committee on Eastern Missions on the "Manner of Conducting Missions to the Eastern Churches" based partly on the experience of the Church Missionary Society is in *Spirit of Missions* (1852), 384-396.

ed.”¹⁰⁹ This is not a serious criticism, whether of the Committee or of its agents; for the Committee naturally depended on such information as was supplied by the latter. It may indeed be possible to question the judgment, but not the conviction of the missionaries or the honesty of their purpose. Nevertheless, to the Instructions must be traced the beginning of trouble. A reference in the *Life of Bishop Griswold* which appeared in 1844, when the controversy was at its height, declares: “This latter document (the Instructions) has been made the occasion of strange imputations upon its author, in consequence of recent events among the various Missions to the Eastern Churches. . . . The designs imputed to Bishop Griswold and those who acted with him . . . are contradicted by the whole history of the man, as well as proved to have been falsely imputed, by the stubborn testimony of facts.”¹¹⁰ And enough is written in the biography to show that Bishop Griswold was a staunch Protestant, to whom the anti-Protestant use of his words would be entirely unacceptable.¹¹¹ Indeed, so clear is all this from the story of the life of this prelate, that the theory that he was not wholly the author of the Instructions appears not unlikely.

The offending passages in the Instructions were: “You may further state to them” (i. e. the Eastern Orthodox) “that many of those called Protestants have rejected and are still so opposed to Episcopacy and Confirmation and the use of Liturgies, (and) that an intimate fellowship and connection with them is at present impracticable”¹¹²; and the further remark, already discussed, regarding the possibility of fellowship “with our brethren of the Greek and Armenian Churches,” whereas the mission as originally established, was to be to the Greeks and the Syrians.¹¹³ Almost as unfortunate were the words of Secretary Vaughan of the Foreign Committee: “While your own obligations will lead

109 C. W. Andrews, *Historic Notes*, 15.

110 John S. Stone, *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold* (1844), 418-419.

111 *Ibid.*, 456-457.

112 See text *ante*, 40.

113 Southgate's *Letter*, 18f.

you to avoid compromising the principles of Protestant faith and practice, you will find every motive leading you, in recognizing the apostolical character of those Christian Churches, to aid in averting the evils of schism. . . . The dangers which threaten this integrity from without, and from the unguarded zeal of religious enquiry within, you have carefully observed and weighed; and . . . may be an instrument in averting"—words which, to persons alive to the events of the period, contained a clear allusion to the effect among the Armenians of the operations of the American Board.¹¹⁴

The need felt at an early date of defence and explanation of these Instructions shows that they were capable of diverse interpretations. The use made of them in the latter part of the controversy at Constantinople proves that the early fears of the American missionaries regarding them were not unfounded. According to these, utmost use was to be made of the episcopal principle; but this, in a mission field where others of a non-episcopal character and tradition were working, would of necessity imply the exerting of an influence adverse to theirs. With sufficient reason, therefore, did the American missionaries complain that there was nothing to prevent Episcopalians from sending like Instructions to every part of the world where their missionaries were working or proposed to work alongside those of non-episcopal churches: "It would be only a very *slight* extension of the principles of the bishop's Instructions, on which Mr. Southgate acknowledges that he has been acting in the East, to put in motion all this machinery for the suppression of non-Episcopal Missions throughout the world."¹¹⁵

The words of the missionaries on this subject not only relate what actually happened, but tend to show that, given such conditions, that particular result was inevitable: "That (Mr. Southgate) *can* obey the bishop's Instructions, which he confesses that he does, and at the same time not interfere with our labors, we regard as an utter impossibility. . . . What we have reported to

¹¹⁴ *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1840), 177; quoted also *ante*, 39.

¹¹⁵ *Reply of the . . . Missionaries*, 20.

you in former communications, in regard to Mr. Southgate, is not that he has opposed us *personally*, but that his church principles have led him, in various instances, to interfere with our labors."¹¹⁶

The infelicity of the Instructions, and the contradictory contents of the document, brought into relief the peculiarity of the Anglican church. Within its fold were sheltered contradictories, the Catholic and the Puritan. The genius of Anglicanism in the matter of comprehension, which is also its peculiar glory, has made it possible for these extremes to find a home within the one ecclesiastical system. But this, which from one point of view is a virtue, is also a characteristic destructive of theoretical statement, and renders difficult a satisfactory Anglican theory of the church. In the Anglican formularies there is a provoking incompleteness on the subject, while in the relevant Articles of Religion, the nineteenth and the twenty-third, there is an ambiguity which is probably intentional, and expressly designed to make possible the inclusion of opposing schools within the borders of that one communion. One of these schools was represented—to quote Southgate's favorite terms—by the emphasis on "episcopacy, confirmation, and the use of liturgies" as essentials of the church. The other consisted of persons who considered these unessential, although useful, and to whom the vital things were instead those aspects of the Reformed faith which Anglicanism held in common with the Evangelicals.

In normal times these theories could continue side by side without much disturbance; but these were not normal times. It was a misfortune that the Anglican overtures to the East should be begun when a determined effort was being put forth by some leading Churchmen to commit the Church of England to the "Catholic" interpretation of the church. This movement was not confined to England. Its influence was profound also in the United States.¹¹⁷ Southgate consorted with representatives of it,

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Memoirs of Bishop Griswold*, *passim*; and other works.

and his own views coincided largely with theirs.¹¹⁸ But the Episcopal church at large was not prepared to endorse the Oxford teaching, with its new exclusiveness. Moreover, people in that church who had been accustomed at home to work with Evangelicals and were not forgetful of the Puritan foundations of the American republic, could not remain indifferent when a representative of their church proceeded to thwart abroad the labors of those with whom they had such fellowship. Tractarianism, which had not yet captured the church in America, was found operating in full force in the mission at Constantinople. Such a development the Protestant Episcopal Church in general was not prepared at that stage to tolerate.

To some it might appear that with directions such as those of the Instructions not an angel from heaven could keep clear of confusion and disturbance. Still, a large portion of the blame for the unfortunate results must attach to the missionary himself, not only because he was in some way responsible for the Instructions, but also, and chiefly, because of his methods of applying them.

In the first place, Southgate seems to have accepted unreservedly the Tractarians' theory of the church, and its horror of Anglo-American dissenters, though he differed from some of the Tractarian leaders in his opposition to the papacy and all its works, and in his appreciation of the Church of England as "Reformed," meaning by that not only that it rejected the papal connection but that it had accepted some evangelical doctrines besides. Now, where Tractarian views prevailed, the Episcopal church, disowning the English-speaking Evangelicals, and itself being disowned by the church of Rome, felt itself to be an isolat-

¹¹⁸ As showing the trend of Bishop Southgate in the direction of the ritualistic practices which were advocated by some of the followers of the Oxford Movement, see a pamphlet, *Correspondence between the Right Reverend the Bishop of Massachusetts and the Rectors of the Parish of the Advent, Boston A. D. 1845 to A. D. 1856* (Boston, 1856). This is the correspondence between Bishop Manton Eastburn and the rectors, William Croswell and Horatio Southgate, in reference to the bishop's refusal to visit the Church of the Advent on account of the "high church" tendencies of its rectors.

ed, friendless organization within Christendom, and for its only hope of companionship it could look toward the Eastern churches. This was a conceivable and a consistent ground to take, and one which has had advocates ever since. But Southgate was not the person to work out those ideas; he was not the leader for a period of transition.

It was admitted even by Southgate's associates,¹¹⁹ that he had certain defects of character. He was somewhat tactless, and of disconcerting restlessness. He succeeded in alienating colleagues, home-supporters, Christian fellow-workers, and even the Foreign Committee. Unfortunate also was his lack of insight, especially in appraising the trend of events and the significance of movements in which he was playing a part. He seemed incapable of understanding the signal work being done by the American Board. To his mind, its work among "the Armenians, . . . so far from being in a prosperous condition, is . . . on the verge of dissolution. I judge from present appearances that it will not exist another ten years."¹²⁰

The kaleidoscopic changes in his plans might suggest that vacillation was a prime fault of his; but this would scarcely be true if conscious instability is meant. What seems more likely is that he was extremely susceptible to outside influences; that the persons with whom he associated moulded his opinions without his knowing it or being willing to recognize it. It is idle, but interesting, to speculate what he would have become if, instead of surrendering to Tractarian influences, he had associated generally with Anglicans of evangelical views, or even with the missionaries of the American Board. That susceptibility to environment was his weakness is borne out by the words of Andrews given on a preceding page, although that extract is too severe in its implications. What is more probable is that the changes it enumerates were due to the persons with whom Southgate had to do. His contacts and the influence they exerted

¹¹⁹ Cf. the quotation from Rev. S. Penny given in page 61.

¹²⁰ *Spirit of Missions* (Oct., 1844).

furnish the explanation of his erratic conduct. He had intensity of conviction without corresponding balance. When an idea possessed him he was unable to see beyond it, or to consider any other side. It is not improbable that under the supervision of someone wiser than himself he might have done good service in connection with the cause and with the theological views he had at heart; he was constitutionally unfitted to be himself a leader in a great advance.

The end of the Constantinople episode came in 1850. Bishop Southgate, although he had tendered his resignation, had not given up hopes of returning to the scene of his foreign labors; but these had to be given up when he found himself bereft of his wife, and left with the care of a family. In his report addressed to the General Convention of the Church which met in 1850 he wrote: "I had proposed . . . to present for your consideration a plan by which these evils might in future be avoided, and the Mission placed upon a safe and permanent basis. But the execution of this design has been prevented in the Providence of God, by an event which has affected a considerable change in my circumstances and in my plans. I allude to a severe bereavement which has left me with a considerable family of young children dependent upon my care, whom I can neither take to Turkey with me nor leave here permanently while I reside abroad."¹²¹ This visitation coming upon the man when he was already worn out with failure and anxiety left him no alternative save that of withdrawing from the mission altogether, which course was in fact the best thing for all parties concerned.

There is one more circumstance to be noted, tending as it does to reveal that fundamental goodness of Bishop Southgate which the events of an unhappy decade had helped to obscure. After strenuously resisting the American Board, and losing in the contest, he seems to have found time for reflection upon the entire situation. Sweeping condemnation of the American Board is now no longer heard.

¹²¹ *Spirit of Missions* (January, 1849), 18.

"I feel," he writes in June, 1848, "that I can now, after the time that has elapsed, look dispassionately upon that event which has rent a (so-called) 'Protestant' fraction from one of the Eastern Churches. I still lament it, but not with the same unmingled feeling as at first. I have no doubt that its tendency is evil, and that it has already done more to promote infidelity than any one thing that has ever happened here. But, on the other hand, I think that it may have a good effect on many. I think there are those who will be roused by it to greater activity of inquiry, who will not go to the length of rationalistic vain-glory to which some seem to tend. I think there are others who will see the necessity of maintaining for the Eastern Churches the most liberal position consistent with a holding of essential truth. This is all that will save those churches. If they attempt to enforce anything beyond, it will be fatal to them. There are many who see this. I think the portions of truth which mingle with the errors of the new reformers will have their effect, and when joined with a proper knowledge of the Church of Christ, will bring forth good fruit. The danger is, that this latter knowledge will not be attained, and if not attained, the work that is going on will be one of awful destruction to all true religion. Already infidelity is using this new-springing Protestantism as the shield of its own malicious designs. . . . Unless some conservative element comes in, there seems to me no hope. . . . It is in the trust that such a conservative element may be found and may prevail, that I do not see in the new schism a cause for unmingled regret. It may be overruled for good to the Eastern Churches—an affliction sent in mercy. Time only will show."¹²²

Wise words these, both in their new note of appreciation and in the criticism they contain; valuable, because of their prophetic note; and welcome, as giving an insight into the kindly nature and Christian purpose of the person who uttered them.

¹²² Southgate is thinking of the formation of the Armenian Protestant Church in Turkey. *Spirit of Missions* (January, 1849), 18.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AMERICAN BOARD IN ITS RELATION TO THE EASTERN CHURCHES

In contrast with the unhappy outcome of the missions dealt with, those of the American Board to the Near East have been markedly successful.¹ The first approach to the Near East by this Society was made in 1820 with a mission to Smyrna, to which Pliny Fisk² and Levi Parsons³ were appointed; but the disturbances due to the Greek Revolutionary War caused its removal to Malta two years later. When Mr. Parsons died in 1822, Jonas King was sent to take his place. The mission was then transferred to Jerusalem, but the Holy City proved an unsuitable field and was abandoned in 1825.⁴ Much more important was Beirut in Syria, which became the center of the Syrian mis-

¹ There are several histories of the Oriental mission of the American Board. See especially *History of the Missions of the A. B. C. F. M. to the Oriental Churches* (Boston, 1872), 2 vols. by Rufus Anderson, who was secretary, 1832-66. Also H. G. O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey* (London, 1854). This was a revision of an earlier edition, which bore the title *Christianity revived in the East* (New York, 1850). An interesting narrative of the same events, but with less detail, and intended for the general reader, is included in William Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (Boston, 1910). Julius Richter, *History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, English edition, (London, 1910), may be consulted.

² *Pliny Fisk*, born at Shelburne, Mass., 1792; graduate of Middlebury College, Vermont, and Andover Theological Seminary; appointed to Palestine mission, 1818; in Smyrna, 1819-20; after extensive travels in Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, he joined the mission at Beirut, 1825; died there the same year.

³ *Levi Parsons*, born Goshen, Mass., 1792. Graduate of Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary. Sailed with Fisk to Smyrna under the American Board. He was for some months at the Greek College at Scio. He went to Jerusalem, 1821, the first Protestant intending to settle as missionary there. Political unrest led to his withdrawal to Smyrna. He set out thence with Fisk to get back to Jerusalem but died at Alexandria, 1822.

⁴ The Jerusalem station was reopened in 1834, but was finally given up in 1844. Anderson, *History of the Missions* I, Chapter II.

sion of the Board, organized in 1823, with William Goodell⁵ and Isaac Bird⁶ as missionaries. It was refounded in 1844. Perhaps its most important undertaking has been the Syrian Protestant College, begun in 1864 with Daniel Bliss as president.⁷

An evidence of the general interest of the time in the Greek people was the opening of a station at Athens under the Rev. Jonas King.⁸ The Rev. Elias Riggs⁹ and others soon followed, and Greek work was begun at Argos and Cyprus in 1834, at Scio in 1825, and at Areopolis near Sparta in 1837. But the Greeks became unfriendly and agitations and riots led before long to the closing of such schools as had been started, and to the gradual

5 William Goodell, born at Templeton, Mass., 1792; graduate of Dartmouth College, and Andover Theological Seminary; appointed missionary, 1822; arrived at Beirut, 1823; owing to disturbed conditions in the Near East withdrew with his family to Malta for safety; 1831 he was sent to Constantinople; he remained there till in 1865; owing to failing health he returned to the U. S.; he died at Philadelphia in 1867. He translated the Bible into Armeno-Turkish.

6 Isaac Bird, born at Salisbury, Conn., 1793; graduate of Yale, and of Andover Theological Seminary; missionary in Syria, 1822-1836; engaged in teaching in U. S. A., 1838-1869; died in 1873.

7 The Syrian mission, and that to the Nestorians, by an amicable arrangement were transferred in 1870 to the Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The college which since 1920 has been known as "The American University of Beirut," is no longer under the control of any one denomination.

8 Jonas King, 1792-1869, born at Hawley, Mass.; graduate of Williams College and Andover Theological Seminary; D.D., Princeton (Nassau College), 1832. For main facts of his life see text.

9 Elias Riggs, 1810-1901, born New Providence, New Jersey; died at Constantinople. Graduate of Amherst College and Andover Theological Seminary. Joined American Board Mission to Greece. He was in Athens with Jonas King for a brief period, then six years at Argos, in educational work. Government restrictions on his activities led to his removal to Smyrna in 1844, for work among the Greeks. He engaged in translating the Bible into Armenian, 1845-1852. He was transferred in 1853 to Constantinople to be in charge of the Greek department, and instructor in theology. He visited the United States in 1856. He was instructor of Hebrew at Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1857-1858; and was offered, but declined, a professorship in that institution. He then returned to Constantinople. He translated the Bible into Bulgarian, 1871, and was one of the four revisers of the Turkish translation, finished in 1878, which became the standard. "He had a working knowledge of twenty languages and was master of twelve. There are four nations reading the word of God as he translated it for them." *Dictionary of American Biography* (1935).

withdrawal of all workers, until in 1842 Dr. King was the only member of the mission in that country.

In 1829 Dr. Rufus Anderson went to investigate in person the mission fields of the Near East, and one result of his visit was the founding of the Constantinople mission two years later with William Goodell as its first missionary. At the same time Eli Smith¹⁰ and H. G. O. Dwight¹¹ undertook a year's tour of eastern Turkey from Constantinople to Persia, during which they obtained the material for their remarkable work entitled *Christian Researches in Armenia*.¹² On the conclusion of the tour Eli Smith returned for a time to America, but Dr. Dwight remained in Constantinople to work among Eastern Christians, and particularly among the Armenians. William Schauffler¹³ was the third missionary, his special task being to reach the Spanish Jews—the descendants of those who upon the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 had flocked to that city.

The year 1833 saw the beginning of a mission to the Nestorian Christians—a group of people dwelling in the mountains

10 Eli Smith, born at Northford, Conn., 1801; graduate of Yale College and Andover Theological Seminary; sent by the American Board to Malta as missionary, to superintend the printing establishment. In Beirut, 1827, studying Arabic. Travelled through Greece with Rufus Anderson in 1829; with Dwight in the tour of 1830-31. Spent most of his active life in Syria and Palestine. Experienced traveller, Orientalist, and linguist. Died, Beirut, in 1857.

11 Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, born Conway, Mass., 1803. Graduate of Hamilton College and Andover Theological Seminary. Sailed from Boston in 1830. His explorations, along with Eli Smith, led to the establishment of the missions of the American Board among the Armenians and the Nestorians. In the United States 1861; killed in accident, 1862.

12 Published in 1833.

13 William Schauffler, born in Stuttgart, Germany, 1798. Early life in Odessa. Influenced by Jonas King. Came to the United States for education; graduate, Andover Theological Seminary. Ordained 1831 missionary of American Board to the Jews in Turkey. Translated the Bible into Hebrew-Spanish. In New York in 1857 to plead for a new mission to the Turks; but the Board was unable to undertake it. He returned to Turkey to work under the Bible societies. His great work is the translation of the whole Bible into literary Turkish. Retired in 1875 and removed to New York where he died, 1883.

of Kurdistan. The Rev. Justin Perkins¹⁴ and Mrs. Perkins were sent out, and they were joined in 1834 by Dr. Asahel Grant,¹⁵ a highly skilled physician, and Mrs. Grant. After the death of the latter in 1839, Dr. Grant gave himself more particularly to missionary exploration among the Nestorians on the western side of the Kurdish mountains. In 1843 there was a massacre of these Christians by the Kurds. Dr. Grant was himself compelled to flee, and died while these calamities continued, and the effort on the mountains was checked. The mission was soon after given up by the Board altogether.

This in brief outline is the story of the early years of the American missions to the Near East, its purpose being to serve as an introduction to the main theme of this chapter, namely, the relation of the American Board to the churches of the East. In this connection it is necessary to examine in detail the relation of its activities to the Greeks, to the Armenians, and to the Anglo-Catholics.

GREECE AND THE GREEKS.

On the death of Levi Parsons in 1822 an associate was temporarily provided for Fisk in the person of the Rev. Jonas King, a great Orientalist, who had been recently elected to a professorship at Amherst College, and was at the time in Paris engaged in the further study of Arabic. He now went to Syria, where he remained until 1825. Before leaving Beirut he wrote a "Fare-

14 Justin Perkins, born West Springfield, Mass., 1805. Graduate of Amherst College and a student for two years at Andover Theological Seminary. Sailed in 1833 as missionary of the American Board to the Nestorian mission at Urmia, Persia, being himself one of the founders of that mission. He was associated with Dr. Grant. His efforts were largely directed to schools and literary work. He translated the Scriptures into Syriac. Visited the United States in 1842, accompanied by Mar Yohannan, the Nestorian patriarch. Returned to Persia 1843. Failing health led to his retirement. He returned to the United States 1869. Died the same year.

15 Asahel Grant, born Marshall, N. Y., 1807. Graduate in Medicine from the Fairfield and Pittsfield Medical Schools, New York State, and practitioner. Appointed medical missionary to the Nestorians 1834; arrived there 1835. Famed for medical skill. The work was broken up by the massacre of the Nestorians in 1843; died, 1844.

well Letter to his friends in Palestine and Syria," which is a defence of Evangelical religion, and which was destined to have a profound influence upon the religious history of the Near East. In this letter, after stating his main beliefs, he went on to show why he could not be a Roman Catholic. But though he dealt solely with the differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics, his Eastern readers could not fail to see that a great measure of the criticism applied equally to themselves, and that, if his main arguments were correct, the Eastern churches also were in need of a reformation.

Dr. King returned to the United States in 1827, but his stay in his native country was brief. The news of the battle of Navarino and the destruction of the Egyptian fleet reached New York on December 16, a Sunday. There was great rejoicing and deep gratitude in that city at the news. Dr. King wrote in his journal for that day "I shed tears of joy, as I went home (from church), thinking of the great consequences that will follow, if this news is true. The road of the East will open up to freedom and true religion, and I must return to the field, God willing, for a while."

Sympathy with Greece increased daily in America, and soon there was ready a cargo of provisions and clothing for the sufferers. Dr. King was asked to accompany the ship that he might assist in the distribution of relief, and was instructed to stay a year or two in Greece to see what could be done for education; to engage in the distribution of the Scriptures; and to promote generally the spiritual welfare of the Greek people. To this call he gladly responded. He was in that land again in 1828, and in 1829 he opened a school in the Island of Poros, followed by the founding of schools elsewhere.

He now attempted to carry into execution a bold plan conceived about 1827. This was that he should found a college or university of the first rank at Athens, securing as professors men famed for their learning, such as Oikonomos, and Bambas.¹⁶

¹⁶ On Oikonomos, see *ante*, page 26. Neophytos Bambas, or Vamvas, born Seio 1770, died Athens 1855, was a man of great literary importance. He studied in Paris, 1807-1814, espousing the "purist" literary principles

He was able to interest wealthy New York friends in the project, and on arrival in Greece he invited the three or four scholars whom he had specially in mind to assist in the enterprise; but these had received appointments by the government which they were unwilling to give up. Inability to secure instructors led to the abandonment of the idea of a university, and it was never taken up again because in 1836 the government itself proceeded to found the Othonian University, later known as the National University of Greece.¹⁷ Dr. King had to be content with estab-

of Koraes. He was director of the Scio College, 1814-22; taught in Cephalonia; 1828-34, he was professor of philosophy in the Ionian Academy, Corfu; principal of the Syra College, 1834-7, when, on the founding of the National University in Athens, he was appointed professor of philosophy there, and remained till 1853. Did much literary work for the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was a broad-minded Eastern Orthodox Christian, and always a trusted friend of the American missionaries. See especially, Papadopoulos, *History of the Church in Greece*, 199-223, chapter on "Neophytos Bambas, and the Translation of the Scriptures." For Dr. King's ideas regarding such a university as indicated above, see his *Miscellaneous Works*, 538-9.

17 Information regarding the foregoing, and Dr. King's varied experiences in Greece, is largely to be found in a Greek publication *Diaphora Iona King*, (*The Miscellaneous Works of Jonas King*, Athens, 1859), esp. 528-552. This important volume, published by Dr. King himself, is in modern Greek throughout, and contains the following writings: 1. The "Farewell Letter" both in the original translation of 1826, and in the later rendering into more idiomatic spoken Greek, in 1859. This second edition contains valuable additional material bearing on the motives, methods, and course of Jonas King as a missionary to the Greeks. (Pages 1-20; 502-614).

2. "The Defence of Jonas King" (Apologia, 1845), 21-190.

3. "The Speech of Jonas King before the Supreme Court in Athens" (1846), 191-207.

4. "An account of an Apostolical Church." This is the Protestant theory regarding the church, its ministry, worship, and doctrine; chiefly in contrast with the beliefs and usages of the Eastern church. (1851), 209-255.

5. "Religious Ceremonies of an Apostolical Church." This is practically the ritual used in sacramental and other services by the Congregational churches of America. (1851), 257-350.

6. "On the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures" (Athens, 1856), 351-374.

7. "Letter to an arianizing preacher, calling himself a 'Unitarian,' that is, one believing, not in the Trinity, but in One Person only in the Godhead. Translated from the English original." 375-382. This letter was written in Charleston, April 6, 1820.

8. "A Concise Survey of Palestine and Syria, together with some Reflections concerning Evangelical Missions; written toward the end of

lishing in Athens a gymnasium, or college of a higher grade, with some seventy students and a reputable faculty.¹⁸

The rest of King's stay in Greece is but a chronicle of trials such as only a man of strength of character could have survived.

He was almost continuously assailed,—says Dr. Strong—with charges and threats, led before the courts on one pretext or another, his case being carried from court to court, while plots of crafty ecclesiastics and the anger of sudden mobs endangered his life. Through all he was absolutely fearless, yet cautious, seeming to know just when to venture forth and when to abide in his house, when to open it for a service and when to withdraw from it into temporary hiding. After an escape from legal attack or personal violence, he would go again into the city, talking freely of religion to all whom he met, exchanging greetings even with priests on the streets. With this combination of courageous defiance and conciliatory submission, he would at one time claim his rights against the Governor of Attica to the same religious privileges as were enjoyed by the Roman Catholics, and at another withdrew from the country, upon a hint from the king of Greece that he could relieve the situation by “taking a journey.”¹⁹

Unlike the work of Dr. Hill which was unobtrusive and more diplomatic, that of Dr. King soon provoked lasting hostility because of its anti-Orthodox tendency and because his circulating translations of the Scriptures was contrary to popular sentiment and traditions.

The Western nations that had interested themselves in the awakening of Greece, and particularly the Protestant ones, which had been most sympathetic with neo-hellenic aspirations and lavish in the support they had extended to the nation in its struggle for emancipation, were soon to find themselves disillusioned. They now discovered that the Greeks were by no means disposed to be docile. They had been glad to receive assistance in winning

1826 and the beginning of 1827. Translated from the French” (Athens 1859), 385-622.

9. “The Various Judicial Trials of Jonas King, and the causes thereof,” 623-833. This includes a full account of the charges preferred against him, the text of excommunications pronounced, some newspaper articles attacking him, and the general course of the trials, from 1845 to 1859.

See also F. E. H. H. (Haines): *Jonas King, Missionary to Syria and Greece* (New York, 1879).

18 An account of the college and its course of study may be found in the *Athena* (Athens, 9/21 September, 1833), No. 146.

19 William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, 102.

their freedom, but they would brook no interference with their national ideals. For the ambition to create a new Byzantine Empire with Constantinople once more as its head seized the imagination of these people, and constituted what they came to call "the Great Idea."

Such being the national state of mind, it followed that nothing tending to impair national consciousness and unity would be tolerated. Now what had largely kept the nation together all through the centuries of oppression was the Eastern Orthodox church. Exclusive, extravagant in its claims, perhaps superstitious in some of its practices, it was nevertheless instrumental in safeguarding the integrity of the nation by preserving the language and folk lore of the people, and was their supporter in the war of independence, even furnishing martyrs to the cause. For reasons such as these disloyalty to the Orthodox church was viewed as disloyalty to the nation itself; and a convert to Protestantism became thereby in the eyes of his people a man without a country. These patriotic considerations explain the ready response of the people to the patriarchal summons against the Evangelicals, and their rally to the side of an intolerant and illiterate priesthood.

All this had a direct bearing on King's work, much more than upon Hill's; for Hill's was little else than a school for children, whereas King's meant definite evangelism and a challenge to superstition. The latter procedure was unacceptable, not only because it seemed a deliberate attempt to impair national unity, but because, being organized and financed by foreigners, it was mortifying to the proud people whose good it professed to seek.

The second cause of friction was King's circulating of the Scriptures in modern Greek translations.²⁰ His doing so was in keeping with the humanitarian and religious impulses of friends of Greece generally, which had shown themselves in part in the activities of the Bible societies in those regions. In particular,

²⁰ Modern Greece in 1901 for various reasons actually forbade, by legislative action, the circulation of the New Testament in the spoken language of the people. The prohibition was withdrawn in 1925. *Report of the British and Foreign Society*, esp. 1901, 130-131; 1902, 142-144; 1903, 9; 1908-1911; 1925, 112.

the British and Foreign Bible Society had been distributing extensively a translation of the Old Testament made direct from the Hebrew. But to this the Synod was definitely opposed, as appears from a Memorandum dated September 4, 1834, which maintains that "it is clear that the new translators desire to put this over against the Septuagint translation which is received as canonical by the Eastern Church, to show by means of the new that the old is mistaken, to weaken or to take away from it wholly its validity, and in this way impart questionings to its readers. If there was need of a new translation of the Old Testament it surely ought to have been made by some Eastern Christian or Christians, and with the permission and approval of the Eastern Church."²¹

The Synod on April 2/14, 1835, issued a further pronouncement to the effect that "The translation of the Seventy, the only one received hitherto by the Eastern Church, is, and is declared to be, the canonical translation of the Old Testament. It is (to be) read in Churches and is also for the use of 'the clergy, the youth, and the people in general, so far as relates to their religious instruction. Every other translation, whether from the Hebrew or from any other language, is disapproved for the above-mentioned use, and is proclaimed uncanonical and inadmissible into the Eastern Church."²² Again, in 1836, the Synod declared that it looked "with disfavor also upon translations of the holy Gospel in the spoken Greek language, because they alter in many respects the true meaning of the original."²³

The determination to exclude modern Greek translations of the Scriptures, which appears almost as early as the founding of the Hellenic kingdom, was at first ecclesiastical in character. It was the Synod that made, in 1835, an attempt, though unsuccessful, to stop the circulation of the Bible Society's Old Testament. The following year, however, a similar decree received the ap-

21 Quoted in Oikonomos, *Remains*, II., 302.

22 Quoted in Oikonomos, *Remains*, II. 316 (This decree is directed specially against the version by Dr. Riggs).

23 *Ibid.*, 333.

proval of the government; but no more could this be enforced, save in an ecclesiastical sense.²⁴

In this connection it has to be borne in mind that the clergy, according to their light and their rights, were undoubtedly seeking to guard the faith and morals of their people. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Greece required the church to protect the clergy and the schools from heresy, and to report to the government any attempts to make proselytes.²⁵ There were also severe restrictions on printing presses and the sale of books. But despite these precautions the sale continued, and in the period 1834-36, Dr. King sold or distributed gratuitously nearly nine thousand copies of the Scriptures in whole or in part, and 87,000 school books and religious tracts.²⁶

Defiance of general sentiment, such as that recorded above, was bound to lead to reprisals; and political factions were not slow to take advantage of the situation to further their own secular aims. A move of this kind was the formation of the "Philorthodox Society," a secret association, the existence of which was discovered by the government early in 1840²⁷. Its history is partly connected with the settlement of the Church of Greece, and the relation of that church to the ecumenical patriarchate.

With the emergence of Greece as a free nation, the question of the relation of its church to the patriarchate became acute. In 1833 that church declared itself autocephalous, or independent, but for seventeen years the patriarch refused to sanction that departure. Political factions were brought into existence because of the question, one of the extremes, headed by Oikonomos,²⁸ stressing the duty of seeking official patriarchal recognition of

24 Oikonomos, *Remains*, II, 330; Papadopoulos, *Church in Greece*, 208ff; Anderson, *Missions of the A. B. C. F. M.*, I, 147ff.

25 Oikonomos, *op. cit.*, II, chap. xiii deals with the provisions of the Constitution regarding the church, and on a further enactment on the subject. Papadopoulos, *Church in Greece*, 303-322, has an important chapter on this subject, entitled "The Provisions of the Constitution concerning the Church."

26 Anderson, *op. cit.*, I, 148.

27 Joseph Tracy, *History of the A. B. C. F. M.*, 2nd ed. 414.

28 On Constantine Oikonomos, see chapter II.

the independence of the Church in Greece, and the other, under Pharmakides,²⁹ contending that the separation was an accomplished fact, and that the consent of the patriarch was neither necessary nor desirable. In 1838 was formed the secret "Philorthodox Society," in sympathy with the former of these factions and almost fanatical in its attachment to Orthodoxy.³⁰ It consisted of both clergy and laity and its fourfold object was, (1) to restore the patriarchal connection; (2) to compel King Otho, who was a Roman Catholic, to receive Orthodox baptism; (3) to encourage the Greeks still under Turkish rule to rise in rebellion; and (4) to annex to the Kingdom of Greece the Ionian Islands, then a British protectorate.³¹ The patriarch himself was implicated in this, as were also several officials of the Russian embassy. The Russian government found it necessary to recall its secretary of legation, and later the ambassador as well, because of their connection with the conspiracy. In Greece the head of the movement, a monk named Papoulakos, was imprisoned. Other leaders were brought to trial, but it was pursued in a half-hearted fashion and most of the accused were acquitted. It was otherwise in the Ionian Islands where stern measures were adopted by the Lord High Commissioner, Sir Howard Douglas. Equally determined was the ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Ponsonby, who demanded and obtained the deposition of the patriarch.³²

It has been said of this society that one of its objects was "to preserve unchanged all the formality and superstition which had crept into the Greek Church."³³ A fairer and more exact characterization would be that it represented that passionate attachment to traditional Orthodox usage which had grown in intensity as a consequence of Protestant propaganda in the Levant. And its ideals continued to prevail. The government order of 1841, which required the teaching of the catechism of the Greek

29 On Theokletos Pharmakides, see chapter II.

30 On the Philorthodox Society, see W. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors*, chapter IX.

31 Tracy, *History of the A. B. C. F. M.*, 415.

32 See *ante*, 27.

33 Tracy, *op. cit.*, 414.

church in all schools above elementary grade, was now made to apply also to the schools of the missionary societies.³⁴ In the negotiations that followed, the missionaries showed themselves willing that the government should employ qualified persons to teach the catechism to the pupils. But the authorities went farther and insisted that no religious teaching whatever should be given in the mission schools. The missionaries, not being prepared to accept a ruling which would exclude the New Testament from the curriculum, decided to abandon all the educational work they had begun. Thus the mission was virtually closed in 1842, save that Dr. King was allowed to remain at Athens, the sole representative of the Board in Greece.³⁵

The remainder of Dr. King's life was a period of incessant struggle with the ecclesiastical authorities, the issue on the one hand being the preservation of the national Hellenic heritage as represented by the Orthodox church, and on the other that of freedom of Protestant worship and preaching, a freedom similar to that accorded to the Roman Catholics. In 1845 Dr. King was publicly accused of uttering impious language against the Virgin Mary. His reply was a masterly defence based largely on patristic writings. But it only exasperated his accusers, and any copies of his book that could be found were destroyed.³⁶ In October of the same year both the book and its author were excommunicated by Constantinople.³⁷ A prolonged trial followed during which period he was frequently exposed to physical danger. Two years later a vicious attack was made upon him by one Constantine Simonides through an article entitled "The Orgies" which appeared in the *Aeon* newspaper.³⁸ To escape the threats

34 Anderson, *Missions of the A. B. C. F. M.*, I, 153 f.

35 Anderson, *Missions*, I, 157-159.

36 Anderson, *Missions*, I, 280-283.

37 The text of the excommunication is given in Jonas King's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 630-635.

38 *Missionary Herald* (1847), 366-372. The article appeared in the *Aeon* on July 16/28, 1847. It gave an account of a marriage ceremony performed at Dr. King's house in December, 1846, at which Dr. King officiated and it professed to be the testimony of an eyewitness the accuracy of whose narrative was vouched for by the editor. The imagination of the author allowed him to describe a ritual of ab-

of the mob, and to ease the situation, Dr. King, as King Otho had suggested, left Greece for several months. When he returned in 1848, he found that the excitement had subsided, and that Simonides was unable to rouse the populace any more. Still Dr. King thought it advisable to refrain from preaching for a while, and devoted himself instead to the circulation of the Scriptures and other publications. The attack was renewed in 1851 when a demand by the Synod for summary measures against him led to his conviction and to a sentence of fifteen days' imprisonment, though actually he spent only one day in prison.³⁹

In these perilous days, Dr. King generally fought single-handed. He rarely asserted his rights as an American citizen, being content rather to claim only such as were guaranteed to all residents in Greece. Nevertheless, during those years he was more than once befriended by Sir Edmund Lyons, the British ambassador. Finally the United States government took a hand in the matter. Daniel Webster, secretary of state, had in 1842 instructed Commodore Porter, United States minister at Constantinople, to be watchful of the interests of the missionaries. In 1852, Webster held the same high office, and once more he ordered the American minister in Turkey, the Hon. George P. Marsh, to proceed to Greece for the purpose of safeguarding the rights of Jonas King.⁴⁰

surd length, with accompaniments of music, dancing, candles, drinking, and changes of costume. The puerility and total falsehood of all this soon became known. The chief section in the article was clearly intended to be the account of Dr. King's burning, on the occasion referred to and in the presence of the company, of the image of the Virgin after insulting it in various ways. The article went on to give an account of the baptism of an infant. "The Orgies" created such a stir in Athens that the government felt it necessary to ask the police to provide special protection for Dr. King. The increase of the disturbance led to a suggestion from the government that the missionary should go on a journey for a while, and so avoid what seemed inevitable bloodshed. *Miscellaneous Works of Jonas King*, 702-709.

39 Anderson, *Missions*, I., 302. *The New York Journal of Commerce* contains full accounts, based on first-hand information, of the trial and the incidents connected therewith. See especially issues for January 30, April 6, April 30, May 22, 1852.

40 *Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States*, 2 Session, 33 Congress, 1854-1855, (Washington, 1855), VI, consisting of 198

There was a further outbreak in 1859, but it did not last long. The year 1862 saw the expulsion of King Otho from Greece, and in 1863 King George arrived. A new and more democratic Constitution was introduced. But it retained the articles of the Constitution of 1843 which, while granting toleration to all churches, designated proselytism from the established church a crime punishable by law.

Dr. King was in the United States in 1864 for a few years' stay. He returned to Greece in 1867, and died there on May 22, 1869. Those last few years were more peaceful, and also cheering in that he found former pupils of his, namely, Messrs. Kalopothakes, Constantine, and Sakellarios,⁴¹ engaged in evangelistic labors similar to his own.

In the course of these judicial proceedings Dr. King was

pages or documents 9 and 67. Its subject is the correspondence in relation to the oppressive treatment of Dr. Jonas King by the authorities of the Greek government. See *e. g.*, No. 9, page 6, and No. 67, p. 184, for a suggestion of the sinister motives in the persecution. Document 67, 129f, includes a translation of Simonides' "The Orgies." Webster's Letter of Instructions, April 29, 1852, No. 9, 2, sets forth clearly the facts of the case and is explicit on the rights of missionaries. It was suspected by many that Russian intrigue was back of the persecution, religious passions being fomented in Greece to embarrass Britain and America in their relations with the Levant. Dr. Kalopothakes, in the course of denying that the Greek people themselves were persecutors, says regarding the Jonas King case: "Chief instigator of this sad drama was a certain leading statesman of a Great Power, while his organs among us were the *Aeon* and its associates." *Star of the East* (September 6, 1863). He also says that in his New York speech, in 1869, he gave utterance to these same views. "I conceived it my duty . . . to clear my people from the charge that they indulge in religious persecutions. I said that these persecutions were instigated and carried out, not by the Greek people, who have ever been lovers of freedom, but by a party of fanatics, calling themselves "The Philorthodox" who under the guise of defending the Church, actually acted under the control and for the benefit of a foreign Power hostile to Hellenism, viz. Russia . . . In confirmation of these words of mine I quoted the testimony of none other than the Prime Minister of Russia, Prince Gorchakoff; who had admitted, at a gathering held at the house of Mrs. Luccock, one of the daughters of Mr. King, that he was sorry that he himself was the cause of the persecutions of her father; 'but' (he added) 'I did this for political reasons'. Prince Gorchakoff is still living and, if he wishes, he can challenge this statement of mine." *Star* (February 14, 1870). On Dr. Kalopothakes see chapter VI.

41 These are referred to in subsequent chapters.

repeatedly charged with heresy. His defence is particularly suggestive for present-day discussions on reunion, because of its stress on the "Nicene" Creed, and its insistence that that alone should be the test of orthodoxy: "I believe" he says "the (Nicene) Symbol of Faith exactly as the Eastern Church believes it, and this because it agrees with the Word of God."⁴² And in a speech which he was prevented from making before the Supreme Court, he had intended to say that he accepted "without hesitation the identical Creed" which the Eastern church received, contending that the basis of the Orthodox church is to be found in this Creed: "All the other things which some today consider dogmas may be called superstructure, if you will, but not basic."⁴³

Not only does he affirm the Creed but he shows that the insistence on any further theological test for those who would join the church is contrary to the ecumenical councils, and in particular merits the anathema of Canon VII of Ephesus, 431 A. D., against any who should add to, or take away, from the Creed in any way.⁴⁴ In another statement, intended for the Criminal Court but which again he was not allowed to give, he declares that he believes the Scriptures "and all the articles of the Symbol of Faith . . . which the third Ecumenical Council, that of Ephesus, ordained to be the Sole Symbol of Faith for the Church unto the end of the world; the only one which may . . . be presented to any man, whether Gentile, Jew, or heretic . . . who might desire to return to the truth and be joined to the Church of Christ. . . . And if I, today, wanted to join the Eastern Church, no Bishop, priest, or layman could demand of me any other faith than the one included in the Symbol, without becoming liable to the anathema of that Synod."⁴⁵

The special significance for the twentieth century of this mission to Greece is that it had reference to a church no longer impotent or subject to a capricious Mohammedan despotism. In

⁴² *Miscellaneous Works of Jonas King*, 641, note.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 200 (April 11/23, 1846). See also, below, 156f. and footnote.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 200f.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 697f (July, 1846); See later in this work, 156f.

Greece, at any rate, the church could act in self-defence without fearing interference either by sultan or by foreign ambassador. Where an Eastern church lacked such independence, as was the case with the patriarchate of Constantinople and more particularly with that of the Armenians, Protestant propaganda could and did achieve a large measure of success. Not so where a church, as in the Hellenic kingdom, was self-conscious, free from outside control, and able to defend its own integrity. Where such is the case, the Orthodox will brook no interference on the part of foreign Evangelicals, and will acquiesce in no approach that takes the form of missions to a heathen country. It will be tolerant only of a respectful approach, such as will seek throughout, not casually or as an idle formality, but persistently and in all sincerity, the co-operation of those churches in helping to bring about their spiritual regeneration.

THE ARMENIANS.

When William Goodell was transferred from Malta to Constantinople in 1831, the Armenian population of the capital was about one hundred thousand.⁴⁶ The aim of the American missionaries was to quicken the national Armenian or "Gregorian" church, to rescue it from formalism, and to accustom it to the preaching of the gospel. Already a revival of religion had begun—a new Reformation of the Erasmian type—and it was directly traceable to Dr. King's "Farewell Letter," which had been early translated into Armenian. This had come into the hands of Gregory Peshtimaljian,⁴⁷ an enlightened priest who has been called the Erasmus of the Armenian Reformation, and under whose leadership, in 1829, was founded a school for the training of Armenian priests.

The attitude of the Armenian church authorities was at first friendly to the missionaries and progress was steady until 1839. Then came a change. The sultan was persuaded by the Armenian hierarchy to extirpate the new heresy, and leaders of the reform-

⁴⁶ Tracy, *History of the A. B. C. F. M.*, 248. Anderson, *Missions*, I., 96.

⁴⁷ Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 25-27. Peshtimaljian died in 1837.

ing party were imprisoned or banished. An imperial firman, or decree, was issued, requiring the several patriarchs in the East to look well to their communions and to guard them from infidelity and foreign influences.⁴⁸ Strong efforts were put forth to secure the expulsion of the missionaries, and these might have succeeded, had not the outbreak of the Egyptian war⁴⁹ and the consequent disasters experienced by Turkey led to a suspension of the persecution. But there was a renewal of the attack in 1841, in which, as throughout the entire course of Protestant operations in the East, was seen also the antagonistic influence of the Roman Catholics.⁵⁰

In 1843 an Armenian, who in a state of intoxication had professed himself a Turk, but who on his recovery stoutly affirmed his faith as a Christian, was beheaded by order of the Mohammedan authorities. The matter was taken up by Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador, who did not rest until a pledge was obtained from the sultan on March 22, 1844, that the death penalty would never again be enforced in cases of apostasy from Islam. There was a further official "Declaration" by the sultan to Sir Stratford Canning, on March 23, 1844, which ran: "Henceforth neither shall Christianity be insulted in my dominions, nor shall Christians be in any way persecuted for their religion."⁵¹

In 1844 a determined effort was made against the Evangelicals by Patriarch Matteos who had himself been noted once for his Protestant leanings, but now worked hand in hand with the secular authorities in the policy of repression.⁵² From now on priests suspected of Protestant leanings were closely watched and so were members of the laity who did not appear assiduous enough in the practices of the church, such as confession. On January 25, 1846, at the patriarchal church after the morning service, a solemn anathema was pronounced against Vertanes,

48 Anderson, *Missions*, I, 118.

49 The Egyptian War with Turkey, 1831-1841.

50 Anderson, *Missions*, chapter IX.

51 Memorial of the Rev. William Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 482-483.

52 Anderson, *Missions*, I, 389, note; chapter XXII; Dwight, *passim*.

one of the suspected priests;⁵³ and on the following Sunday one against all who shared Evangelical opinions, orders being given subsequently to the clergy that the temporal penalties of this anathema should be enforced.⁵⁴ One section warns the faithful against dealings with the Evangelical brother, or disposition to "give him bread, or assist him in making money, or have intercourse with him as a friend, or do business with him." It goes on to say that:

Such persons are . . . enemies of the holy faith of Christianity, and destroyers of the holy orthodox Church of the Armenians, and a disgrace to the whole nation. Wherefore, their houses and shops also are accursed; and whoever goes to visit them, we shall learn, and make them public to the holy Church by terrible anathemas.⁵⁵

To allow no loophole of escape there was drawn up by the patriarch a new Confession of Faith to be made by those returning to the national church. Southgate and others refused to believe that the patriarch was its author, but it ultimately came to be recognized as authentic. The probability of it is vouched for by its contents, since it contains a condemnation of those very points which were being taught by the missionaries. On the other hand it affirms those beliefs against which the Armenian Evangelicals were protesting, and on account of which they were becoming estranged from the church of their fathers; such as, the acceptance of seven sacraments, baptismal regeneration, the need of confession to a priest, the real presence in the eucharist, the perpetual virginity of the Theotokos, the right of the Virgin Mary to be honored above all saints, the invocation of saints, and the veneration of relics and icons.⁵⁶

The comparative freedom allowed hitherto by the Armenian church was practically at an end. The usage of centuries, and in particular the support of ecclesiastical tradition, had indeed sanctioned the beliefs defended in the new Confession. But the ab-

53 Anderson, *Missions*, I, 394.

54 Anderson, *Missions*, I, 396.

55 Given in Dwight, *op. cit.*, 326f, Appendix B. For a history of Armenian Protestantism see Leon Arpee, "A Century of Armenian Protestantism" in *Church History*, (June, 1936).

56 Dwight, 329-332.

sence of conciliar decision upon some of these made possible the inclusion of Christians of different views in the one church. Such freedom was now withdrawn because of the new and more explicit test devised by the patriarch. Accordingly, for such as had Protestant leanings no alternative was left but to secede from the older organization. Thus in July, 1846, the first native Protestant church in Turkey came into being. The reasons for it were set forth in the following statement:

We, Evangelical Christians of the Armenian nation, believing that the true foundation and perfect rule of Christian faith is the Holy Scriptures alone, have cast away from us those human traditions and ceremonies which are opposed to the rules of the Bible, but which our National Church requires. And furthermore, without having had the least intention of separating from it, we have been united together for the special purpose of enlightening and reforming this Church. And since we receive entire the Nicene Creed of the Church, and also since up to the present time no creed embracing particularly these human traditions, has been framed and enjoined upon the members of the Armenian Church as necessary to be received, we could be considered as regular members of the National Church by simply receiving the ancient (Nicene) creed. But in the year 1846, Bishop Matteos, Patriarch of the Armenians, has invented a new creed, embracing particularly these human traditions, and he has insisted upon our accepting and subscribing it.

But we, obeying God rather than man, have not received it; on account of which he has cast us out of the Church, and anathematized us particularly and publicly by name; and, according to his ability, he has also inflicted upon us material injuries. We had indeed, previous to this, suffered persecution of different kinds for our religious opinions; as, for instance, about seven years ago, several of us were sent into exile; and also within about two years, some have been banished, some put in prison, some fined, some bastinadoed, etc.; yet since the present Patriarch rejected us by excommunication from the Church, he has inflicted on us generally various additional bodily penalties. Thus, for several months, all the shops of the Evangelical Armenians were closed; some were unwillingly separated from their homes and parents; and some even from their wives and husbands; bakers and water-carriers were forbidden to bring either bread or water; and to the extent of his ability, he strove, by every species of bodily infliction, to compel us to receive and sign his new confession of faith.

And although, by the interposed protection of the powerful Ottoman Government, he has been prevented from continuing this severity of persecution, he has to this day, every day on the Sabbath, repeated the command to the Armenian people not to receive us into their houses or shops, or even to look upon us. And, finally, after all these things, he has issued a new bull, and

caused it to be read in all the Churches on the day of the Catholic Church festival; which bull of excommunication and anathema is also to be read in all the Churches throughout the Ottoman Empire, every year successively, at this same festival. Thus he cuts us off, and casts us out forever from the National Church, by the standing order and high authority of this bull.

And now it being evident that we cannot be in fellowship with the Armenian Church without receiving human traditions and rites, which, being contrary to the Holy Scriptures, we cannot receive; we, therefore, by the grace and mercy of God, following the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and obeying the Gospel, and consequently being members of his one Catholic and Apostolic Church, do now rightfully and justly constitute ourselves into a Church with the following confession of faith.⁵⁷

The Armenian Evangelical Church was later officially classed as "Protestant," but the name was not of its own choosing. These Evangelicals, having been excommunicated from the parent church, were without protection until the vizier himself intervened, appointing a person to look after their interests. But this officer refused to have dealings with them as "Armenians," because according to the terms of his appointment he was authorized only to look after the interests of Protestants. The new community was in this way forced to accept the name Protestant, in so far as its relation to the government was concerned.⁵⁸

The appointment of a special officer, referred to above, was an emergency measure, and did not settle the larger question, namely, that of freedom of worship in the sultan's dominions. The time had come for the recognition of the right to change one's religion and for the extending of government protection to any who might become Protestants. But in the religious system of the Turkish Empire there was no provision for eventualities of this kind. There were indeed several religions in Turkey, but they represented *national* groups recognized by the government, which had religious freedom in the sense that they had the right to profess their respective national faiths. The religious-national unit was known as a "millet," and the head of each of these was the ecclesiastical head of the community. This meant in the case of the Armenians that members of the national church were

⁵⁷ Dwight, 332-334, Appendix E.

⁵⁸ Anderson, *Missions*, I, 413.

duly protected and had a legal representative before the Porte in the person of the patriarch. A similar provision had been made in 1830 for Armenian Roman Catholics. But there was nothing for Armenians who, forsaking either of these churches, had become Evangelicals.

Now it was out of the question that an excommunicated company of people should have as their political representative the person excommunicating them. It was farcical and intolerable that he should continue to be for them the authority through whom application should have to be made for trade licenses, passports, and marriage or burial permits. There was urgent need, therefore, that a new millet should be formed for the Protestant subjects of the Porte, and steps were taken to that end.

In December, 1846, the Armenian Protestants were freed from the control of the patriarch as regards temporal and commercial matters, and were allowed to appoint an agent who should be their representative before the government. Turkish officials, however, were tardy, and it was necessary for Lord Cowley, Canning's successor, to intervene and accelerate matters. On November 19, 1847, he obtained a letter from the sultan establishing the ecclesiastical independence of Protestant Armenians at once.⁵⁹ This was made still more definite in a second imperial pronouncement of 1850, which in 1853 was communicated to all the pashas, or governors, in the Empire.⁶⁰

Of special value in this connection is the entire correspondence of the British diplomatic agents during those years with reference to Protestants in Turkey. The appendices to the relevant volumes of *British and Foreign State Papers*⁶¹ contain full information, including a letter from the Prussian ambassador in Paris, Baron von Bunsen⁶², who was genuinely concerned

59 Anderson, *Missions*, II, 6.

60 *Ibid.*, II, chapter I, etc.

61 *British and Foreign State Papers*, especially XXXIV, XXXV.

62 Christian Charles Josias, Baron von Bunsen, 1791-1860; strongly religious man, convinced Protestant, diplomat, author, theologian. Held ambassadorial posts in London and elsewhere. Was particularly interested in the condition of Christians in the Near East. See *En-*

about the condition of Christians in the Near East, and who urged in the present instance that the government recognition of Armenian Evangelicals should be as definite and complete as that of other Christian nationalities. In the matter of securing this recognition, chief credit must be given to Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador,⁶³ whose efforts were ably supplemented by his successor, Lord Cowley.

On the successful termination of Lord Cowley's efforts, the American missionaries wrote expressing their thanks. In the ambassador's reply, addressed to the Rev. William Goodell, occurs the following paragraph, which evidently is intended to contain a timely warning:

I would fain say one word before parting, on the necessity of you and all your reverend brethren continuing to use all your influence to prevent further quarrels between the Protestants and the Church from which they are seceders. Let no signs of triumph on their part irritate or offend—persuade them to bear the taunts and jeers, nay, even the insults, to which they may be exposed, with patience and forbearance—urge them to abstain from disturbing the peace and tranquility of other families, by any undue desire of obtaining proselytes—let them respect the religious creed of others, as they desire their own to be respected, and thus they will prosper.⁶⁴

In 1852 Canning, who had been raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redclyffe, and was once more in Turkey at his post as ambassador, was about to leave for an extended visit to England. The American missionaries took advantage of the occasion to present to him a Farewell Address in which reference was made to the rise of Protestantism in Turkey, and to the result of Canning's efforts in behalf of the Protestants.⁶⁵ His reply is of interest:

I cannot allow you to leave me without receiving my cordial

cyclopaedia Britannica and *Dictionary of National Biography*. Also his letter on the Armenian Protestant question, in French, in *British and Foreign State Papers*, XXXIV (1845-6), 1142-44.

63 There is surprisingly little about this, not the least glorious of his achievements, in Canning's biography: S. Lane Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, (1888), II.

64 Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 350-351, appendix H. The date is "Therapia (Constantinople), Dec. 28, 1847."

65 The missionaries' address is in Dwight, 351-355.

acknowledgments for the address which you have presented in so flattering a manner. Your testimony to the exertions by which I have constantly endeavoured to obtain protection or redress for those who have been called to suffer for conscience' sake in this empire, is the more valuable as it proceeds from you, who, with equal zeal and discretion, have long applied your abilities to the same object, laying deep the foundation of no ordinary structure.

It may be hoped, without presumption, that what has been done for those whose only crime was to search for scriptural truth at the fountain-head, and whose behaviour in every trial has done so much credit to their principles, will have the effect, not only of protecting those principles, and the rights connected with them, from future assault, but of promoting a spirit of tolerance and peace among Christians of all denominations, and will eventually lead to the removal of any abuses which time and circumstances may have introduced into the more ancient religious establishments . . . (Here follows an appreciative reference to the work of Bishop Gobat.⁶⁶)

You have been sent from far on a great and good errand. I am delighted to see in the progress of your work a bright reflection of that noble example which the country of our common origin has given from early times, and which, illustrated and extended by you and by those who sent you from the western continent, bids fair to assist in spreading the purest kind of civilization throughout these interesting regions, and ultimately to prove an additional bond of sympathy between our respective nations. Reverend gentlemen! I thank you, and wish you well.⁶⁷

In concluding this section reference may be made to certain words found in the missionaries' Farewell Address to Lord Stratford de Redclyffe: "Twenty years ago there existed not one Protestant subject in this whole empire. . . . Now a Protestant denomination is acknowledged and its members possess the Im-

⁶⁶ Samuel Gobat, 1799-1879. A native of Switzerland, he removed to Paris for the study of Oriental languages, and then to England to enter the service of the Church Missionary Society. From 1829 to 1834 he was in Abyssinia. He travelled extensively in the East in the interests of missionary work. After a few years sojourn in England he resumed his missionary activities, visiting Syria in 1841 to enquire into the prospects of establishing a mission among the Druses. Until this time he had only Lutheran ordination. In 1845, he received deacon's orders in the Church of England. In 1846 he received priest's orders and was then consecrated bishop of the Anglican church at Jerusalem (see footnote on page 49). His strong Protestantism, and his support of Protestant converts in the East and the consequent friction with the authorities of the Eastern churches provoked violent Anglo-Catholic opposition as well. For the Anglo-Catholic view, also for general bibliography, see *Dictionary of English Church History*, article on "Jerusalem, Bishopric in." Also *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem, His Life and Work*, (London, 1884).

⁶⁷ In Dwight, 355-356.

perial Charter of their civil rights.”⁶⁸ These words expressive of gratitude and appreciation, are also a clear reminder that one of the results of the mission to Oriental Christians, despite the original intentions of the Board, and because of the force of circumstances, was the formation of a Protestant community alongside that of the Eastern churches.

THE ANGLO-CATHOLICS.

After a hundred years of silence official approaches to the East on the part of Anglicanism were resumed in 1831, when the Rev. George Tomlinson paid a visit to Athens and Constantinople, taking with him Letters Commendatory from the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London to the “Patriarchs and Bishops of the East.”⁶⁹

There were no doubt many reasons prompting a visit of this kind, but it is not unlikely that the main one was the missionary situation in the Levant, where the chief agencies at work were the American Board and the Church Missionary Society. That was the time when attacks were being made upon the last-named society,⁷⁰ chiefly on the ground that it did not emphasize episcopacy, and had not given the bishops an adequate place in its organization. It would be precarious to declare dogmatically that Tomlinson was sent to the East to offset the work of these two societies. But it is a fact that he was as determined as Southgate to dwell on the episcopal principle, and he could not fully do so without at the same time disparaging that for which non-episcopal churches stood, and without condemning by implication the Church Missionary Society for a corresponding sympathy with them. The extracts given in an earlier chapter⁷¹ amply prove the truth of this statement, as also does Tomlinson’s refusal to be responsible for anything that was being done by the Church

68 Dwight, 352.—For the events in this section Leon Arpee, *The Armenian Awakening*, (Chicago, 1909), may be consulted.

69 Cf. *The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church*, 142-149.

70 Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, I, ch. xxvi. Cf. E. B. Pusey, *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2nd ed., (1842).

71 In the chapter relating to Southgate, 41f.

Missionary Society.⁷² The official attitude, of which Tomlinson was a representative, finds expression also in the decision of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to send the Reverend George P. Badger to Persia.

Originally a printer by profession, Mr. Badger spent his earlier days in connection with the Church Missionary Society printing press. While there he acquired a knowledge of Arabic, which was perfected during a later stay in Beirut (1835-1836), and a visit to the Euphrates Valley. On his return to England he studied for a time at the Church Missionary Society Institute at Islington, and was ordained deacon in 1841 and priest in 1842. But in the meantime he abandoned the Evangelical views represented by that Society, and went over completely to the theology of the Oxford Movement. On account of his knowledge of Arabic and his familiarity with the Near East, he was chosen by the archbishop of Canterbury (Wm. Howley) and the bishop of London (C. J. Blomfield) as delegate to the Eastern churches and especially to the Nestorians of Kurdistan, and he was in those regions from 1842 to 1844. A production of permanent value is his work on *The Nestorians and their Ritual*, in which he gives an account of his travels, a history of the Nestorian church, and a translation of its ritual. He visited Kurdistan again in 1850.⁷³

The sending of a delegate to the Nestorians was in keeping with the policy of making overtures to the Eastern churches which prevailed in Anglicanism at the time. Mr. Badger received letters commendatory from the archbishop addressed to the "Patriarchs and Prelates of the Holy Eastern Church," but intended

⁷² *Spirit of Missions* (June, 1841), Southgate's Journal for Sept. 27, 1840, containing reference to Tomlinson's visit and views.

⁷³ See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *Church Missionary Society History*, 349. Additional facts regarding Badger: when he returned home from Kurdistan he was appointed government chaplain at Bombay; in 1856 he accompanied Sir James Outram on his Persian expedition; returned to England in 1861; then with Outram in Egypt; again in England in 1862, devoting himself chiefly to literature; appointed in 1872 secretary to Sir Henry Barclay Frere on a mission to Zanzibar re suppression of slave trade there. In recognition of his services in this connection he received sundry decorations, and was created D. C. L. by the archbishop of Canterbury. He died in 1888.

particularly for the religious heads of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. In these the archbishop declared Mr. Badger's object to be "to salute your Holinesses in our name, and to express to you our respect and affection towards you, and our zeal and fervent desire for the welfare and peace of your Churches. He will tell you all things that you may wish to know concerning our apostolical Church, and its feelings of love and kindness towards the ancient and apostolical churches of Christ in the East."⁷⁴

In the official Instructions the delegate was enjoined among other things,

(1) to testify to the Bishops and Clergy of those countries the good will of our Church towards them, and the desire which is felt in England to see their churches restored to a flourishing condition as branches of the True Vine, taking care to explain to them the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and to assure them that she claims no jurisdiction or authority over them, and over any of the Churches of the East. (2) To render such assistance to the Patriarchs, Bishops and Clergy, as he may be able to give in the work of Christian education, and to take such steps as they may approve for the establishment of schools, and for the instruction of the people generally.⁷⁵

The application of such Instructions would naturally depend on the person using them. In the hands of a Tractarian they might be expected to yield results similar to those of the mission at Constantinople; and this is what actually happened. For not only was Badger a convinced High Anglican of the newer school, but he was also bitterly antagonistic to non-episcopal communions. He went out according to his own confession with the express purpose of counteracting the work the American Board was doing among the Nestorians.⁷⁶

Mr. Badger's opinions regarding the American missions, and the methods of approach to the Eastern churches which he himself felt called upon to adopt, are brought out in his own words:

It will not be out of place to give here some account of the proceedings of the American Board of Foreign Missions in Constantinople, whose agents belong to the Presbyterian, Independent, Dutch Reformed, and other dissenting bodies, especially as my conduct towards them during my residence at the capital was pub-

⁷⁴ G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Ritual*, I, Introduction, xv f.

⁷⁵ Badger, *The Nestorians*, Introduction, xiv f.

⁷⁶ *Reply of the Missionaries of the American Board*, 40.

licly censured by certain periodicals. It is well known to every one, that many of the doctrines, and the entire constitution of these sects, are as opposed to the teaching and discipline of the Anglican Church, as they are to the faith and ecclesiastical government professed by all the Eastern Churches. Yet, notwithstanding this wide difference existing between us, they designedly or otherwise give it to be understood that they hold the same faith as we do, and differ only on the most trivial points. This opinion has been so deeply impressed upon the great mass of the native Christians, and has been so strengthened by the manner in which many of our own missionaries⁷⁷ have fraternized with them, that I have found it a most difficult task to persuade them to the contrary;⁷⁸ and their missionary proceedings have been carried on upon principles so diametrically opposed to those professed by our Church, that any efforts on our part have come to be regarded not only with suspicion, but to be treated as pernicious by all the Churches of the East. The right, moreover, which the committee of the American Dissenting Board arrogate to labour among the Eastern Christians, is as ludicrous as it is presumptuous. . . . Added to the above grounds, several instances of their unfriendliness to (Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem) and to his work, and of their unwarrantable sectarian proceedings among the Armenians, as related to me by the Rev. H. Southgate, confirmed me in the opinion that I ought to hold no intercourse with them, and decided me not to return the visits which one or two of the missionaries obligingly paid me, though I did not see them, being absent at the time. In thus acting I did violence to my own natural feelings, for I had been personally acquainted with these gentlemen years before, and held them in high esteem for their uniform kindness and other excellent qualities. But I had a duty to perform for the Church,—I was commissioned by my superiors to seek intercourse with the heads of the Eastern communities, and to make known to them, not only our good-will towards them, but our doctrines and constitutions, and I sacrificed my feelings to what I deemed to be a solemn and imperative obligation. For how could I rightly perform the latter, if at the same time friendly intercourse with those who were doing all in their power to create schisms in the Churches, pointed me out as their associate? or how could I justify such intercourse with my repeated expositions and assurances to them that the Independents were not of us, but originally Separatists from the Church of England, and held doctrines widely differing from our own? It was impossible; and any such fellowship on my part would have been hollow and insincere. And why should the Independents object that their peculiar doctrines should be made known to the Eastern Churches? If true, he who exposes them will serve as their minister; and if false, the sooner they abandon them and return to the Catholic faith of their ancestors the better. If the differences which separate us are as trifling as they would make them, then their continuance in schism is the greater sin, and they must feel persuaded

77 An obvious reference to the Church Missionary Society.

78 Note here the admission of direct interference.

that, if united with us, their work would be far more likely to be blessed among the Christians of the East. . . .

During our stay in Constantinople the American dissenting missionaries had made little progress among the Armenians, but they have since succeeded, chiefly, I regret to say, through the influence of England, in getting their proselytes to be recognized by the Porte as a separate sect called "Protestants", and the number of their adherents from the same community is said to be increasing, especially in Aintâb near Aleppo, and in other places. Here, then, we see the ultimate result of their plans, though they have loudly affirmed that it was not their design to create schism. However sincerely such assertions were made, they must at once be regarded as puerile in the extreme; since professing, as they do, to reject such doctrines as the mysterious efficacy of the sacraments, episcopacy, the use of a ritual, appointed festivals and fasts, and to hold in the place of these the unlimited right of every individual to choose his own creed from the Holy Scriptures, they are bound in all honesty to teach that the former are errors or irrelevant to salvation, and that the latter is the safer and more excellent way. And can it be supposed that proselytes to these views would themselves remain, or be permitted by their clergy to remain, in communion with their native Churches?

But if the principles of dissent are unscriptural, so are they also opposed to the genius and sympathies of the oriental mind. Up to the present time, no one form of republicanism in religion has ever arisen in the East; and I am fully persuaded that the present partial success of the Independents will be ephemeral, or lead eventually to the spread of a pernicious rationalism wherever their tenets meet with acceptance. They may succeed in spreading abroad a vast amount of secular knowledge through the medium of their schools, and may bring up many eastern youths to argue and to dispute, but the good, if any, will rest here. Trained like their masters, to respect no authority in matters of faith but their own individual judgment upon the text of Scripture, and united to each other by no other bond than that of a common rejection of some of the errors of their parent Churches, the proselytes can never exist in a compact community, exhibit the outward order and life of a branch of the heavenly vine. . . .

The heaven has already begun to work, and unless stayed in its progress, will sooner or later taint the Eastern Churches with a latitudinarianism and rationalism, far more pernicious than the errors and superstitions with which they have so long defaced the pure truths of the Gospel. It is time indeed, that the Church of England should awake to a sense of her responsibilities towards the East, from which she first received a knowledge of CHRIST, and to emulate the zeal of the Independents, whose large band of missionaries, extensive scholastic establishments, and sumptuous residences, betoken an earnestness and liberality worthy of our imitation.⁷⁹

79 G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians*, I, 6-11.

With convictions such as these it was natural that Mr. Badger should act in the manner related by the American missionaries. Dr. Grant writing in November, 1842, said: "Mr. Badger is here, and has commenced operations by assailing us. I have not yet seen him. He has brought letters from the Jacobite Patriarch to have the schools suspended, and that the people here take no books, either from us or from him."⁸⁰ Again, Badger had been telling the Jacobites that the Syriac Bibles of the British and Foreign Bible Society were defective because they did not contain the Apocrypha.⁸¹ He further represented the Americans to the Nestorians as persons "without a ministry, or any requisite of discipleship."⁸²

In the *Annual Report of the American Board* for 1843 these words appear: "In closing our report we cannot but deeply regret that any agent of a Missionary Society should feel himself at liberty to attempt to divide the fellowship of Protestants. We fondly hope that we shall have the confidence and prayers of all Christians."⁸³ What happened at the annual meeting of the Board that year Southgate himself has related in his *Vindication*, quoting the American papers: "Inquiry was made concerning some interference that had lately been experienced at some of the Missions This called up Dr. Anderson, who remarked that the allusions made in the Report of the Prudential Committee, referred to a Mr. Badger, whose course has been exceedingly reprehensible."⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Thomas Laurie, *Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians* (Boston, 1853), 279.

⁸¹ Laurie, *Dr. Grant*, 281; Badger, *The Nestorians*, I, 71. For a brief account of what now seems a curious controversy, the inclusion or not of the Apocrypha by the British and Foreign Bible Society; the attack upon the Society by the High Anglicans for the omission; and the attack by the Evangelicals because it supported Continental Bible societies which did include the Apocrypha: see Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, I, 278; and W. Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (1904), I, 333 ff.

⁸² Laurie, *Dr. Grant*, 370.

⁸³ *Missionary Herald* (Nov., 1843), 414. The meeting was on Sept. 12.

⁸⁴ H. Southgate, *Vindication*, (1844), Preface.

On his arrival at Constantinople Badger's attitude was seen to be that of open hostility to these missionaries. Mr. Badger, they write,

came out from England under the patronage of the Bishop of London to go to Mosul, so far as appears, for the express purpose of counteracting the labors of the American Missionaries there. This is declared by the editor of the London Record to have been his avowed object; and if we are called upon for other proof, we would refer to his whole course since his arrival upon the ground, which has been a course of steady and determined hostility to our mission. The evidences in the case are already in the hands of the Committee. What we wish to direct your attention to in this place is, that he came originally from England with this intention. Like Saul of Tarsus, he came breathing threatenings, if not slaughter, all along the way, against all non-episcopal missionaries. . . .⁸⁵

And a further witness, proving that here was one of the influences against which the Evangelical missions had to contend; is Southgate himself. Writing in 1843 he says: "The position of hostility which (Mr. Badger) has assumed toward the Congregational Missionaries in the country itself was contrary to my earnest and oft repeated advice"; and, "I agree . . . in thinking that his hostile bearing towards the American missionaries is deserving of censure. No one regrets it more than I. No good, but evil can come from such contentions."⁸⁶

The quotation just given suggests that its author was somewhat ashamed of Badger's general attitude; but actually, Southgate's own influence was along the same lines. The supreme instance of his antagonism, and one which seems to have absorbed his whole energies for a number of years, was his endeavor to prevent the granting of the imperial *firman* or decree recognizing the native Protestants of Turkey as a distinct community, entitled as such to protection and to civil and religious rights. So intense was his dislike of non-episcopal Christianity that he was prepared to coerce the Evangelicals to remain under the patriarchal yoke, allowing them no relief whatever in the melancholy situation in which they were placed. But he was unable to create

⁸⁵ *Reply of the Missionaries of the American Board*, 40f.

⁸⁶ Southgate's *Vindication*, 39.

much impression in the United States, because the American Board had the ear of the American people.⁸⁷ He next turned to England, seeking to influence British opinion in church and state, in favor of the Armenian patriarch and clergy.

In his annual report for 1846, Bishop Southgate refers to his arrival at Constantinople, and his agreeable intercourse with Greek and Armenian ecclesiastics, and goes on to express his views on

the great desirableness of our acting in unison with the English Church in all our efforts in this country, since the Board itself has expressed the same wish in a resolution adopted at its Annual Meeting in 1842. I have accordingly opened correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. With the Bishop of Gibraltar I have long been on terms of cordial intimacy.⁸⁸ It will give you pleasure to know that our views and plans are in strict accordance with the opinions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, conveyed to me by his grace during

87 Some of Southgate's utterances are given in a criticism to be found in Dwight's *Christianity in Turkey*, written originally in 1850, when still in the heat of the conflict. It is on pp. 243-5 of the 1854 edition: "Bishop Southgate says, that he 'recommended moderate and gentle measures as long as practicable!' And after the bull of excision came out against this godly Christian priest, the bishop says, 'he did not doubt the sentence was just'! What was the nature and bearing of his counsel in other cases can only be known inferentially from his own declarations. He has not hesitated, however, to avow publicly, that all his sympathies were on the Patriarch's side, and against the anathematized; nor to use his influence to prevent, if possible, Christians in England and America from having a fellow-feeling for their suffering brethren in Turkey, so as to send them relief. The spirit of inquiry which has so characterized the Armenian Church he has ascribed chiefly to 'the influx of European knowledge, and the sentiments of European rationalism', and to the works of Volney and Voltaire; and with such views of the origin of this 'new sect', it was not strange that when the distress that came upon them by the persecuting acts of the Patriarch were first made known to the world, he should testify, over his own signature, that they were, in general, only 'infidels and radicals', who deserved no sympathy from the Christian public. . . . Southgate further said, that he 'never met with an instance of more unjustifiable separation from a Church than were the secessions which led to the act of excommunication', and that 'it would be far better if all the seceders would return to the quiet performance of religious duty, in the Church in which they were baptized; and he hopes they will all be brought back.' " (Dwight is careful in each case to give the source of Southgate's utterances quoted above.)

88 i. e., George Tomlinson, formerly secretary of the SPCK.

my visit to England in 1844, as those opinions also are in harmony with all the proceedings of our own Church hitherto. . . .⁸⁹

It must have been startling to the Foreign Committee to receive the sudden intimation that there had been between their missionary and the Anglican authorities this special correspondence which had a direct bearing on the work of the American Board in Turkey. It would appear that on March 6, 1846, Southgate had written to the archbishop, and to Bishop Skinner, primus of Scotland.⁹⁰ The nature of the former communication may be inferred from Archbishop Howley's reply, dated June 8, 1846:

Right Reverend and Respected Brother: I have received with great satisfaction your very clear and distinct account of the transactions which have taken place in the Armenian Church at Constantinople, and the measures which have been adopted by the Armenian Patriarch against those members of his Communion who have set his authority at defiance, and been guilty of other irregularities.

Your advice on this occasion appears to me to have been highly judicious, and the Patriarch, in confining himself to the exercise of that authority which is vested of right in the ruling powers of every Christian community, and not proceeding to the extremities allowed by the Government of the country,⁹¹ has placed himself in a more respectable position, and will probably succeed more effectually in restoring order and peace, than if he had resorted to penalties which are now generally disapproved by all sober-minded and right-thinking Christians.

In communicating on this subject with the British Ambassador, I think you have rendered an essential service to the interests of Christianity in the Turkish dominions—more especially as it led to an interview between his excellency and the Patriarch, which afforded the opportunity of making him acquainted with the actual state of things, and putting him on his guard against misrepresentations, which must always be expected in such cases. . . .⁹²

Even more important is a letter to Southgate from Bishop

⁸⁹ *Spirit of Missions* (Aug., 1846), 294.

⁹⁰ William D. Skinner, 1778-1857; bishop of Aberdeen. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁹¹ It was Southgate's contention throughout that there had been little or no persecution. But Sir Stratford Canning's investigations proved the contrary and bore out all the American Board missionaries had said. See the correspondence in the *British and Foreign State Papers*, vols. 34 and 35 referred to above.

⁹² Letter given in *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1847), 421.

Skinner, dated Aberdeen, October 3, 1846, which incidentally reveals the extent of Southgate's advocacy of the patriarch's cause, and contains the startling intimation that the Episcopal Church of Scotland had placed itself on record as in sympathy with Patriarch Matteos and in opposition to the Evangelicals of Turkey. The primus informs Southgate that he had seen a recent letter from him to Archbishop Howley, and after quoting his own reply thereto proceeds:

On returning to Aberdeen on the 27th July, I found the affecting paper, dated Constantinople, April 17, (O. S.) 1846, which you did me the kindness to forward to me at the request of the Armenian Patriarch. . . . The details which the good man gives of the alleged persecution of Evangelical Armenians in Turkey, are so simply given, and bear on the face of them such incontrovertible evidence of their perfect truth and accuracy, as to excite at once one's sincere sympathy and commiseration.

It was not till the 3rd September, that, on the bishops of our Church meeting in their annual Episcopal Synod, I was enabled to bring before them these very interesting documents. And an excerpt from their minutes will perhaps best convey to you and the worthy Patriarch the expression of their sentiments on the subject.

'Bishop Skinner read to the Synod a copy of a letter from the Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate, Bishop of the Protestant American Episcopal Church in Turkey, respecting an existing schism in the Armenian Church. The Synod expresses a deep interest in the matters referred to in Bishop Southgate's communications, and directs the Primus to acknowledge the receipt, and to express the sympathy of the Scottish bishops with the difficult circumstances in which the Patriarch of the Armenian Church appears to be placed.'⁹³

The following letter, dated Pera, May 14, 1846, to Sir Stratford Canning reflects the bishop's strenuous advocacy of the patriarch's cause, and incidentally shows that this was not the only communication on the subject between bishop and ambassador:

I have now the pleasure of laying before you another document of some importance in the Armenian affairs, a letter, namely, from the Armenian Patriarch to the Vartabed at Trebizond, ordering him to come to this city. It is one of those instances, which

93 Given in *Spirit of Missions* (Nov., 1847), 422ff.

have been very numerous in my own acquaintance with the Armenian Patriarch, in which he has shown a ready disposition to listen to the first call of justice. . . . I have had with the Patriarch an intimate intercourse for the last 9 months. I have seen him in hours of the most unreserved communication. I suppose that no European here has half the acquaintance with him that I have, and I can truly say that a man to whose nature a course of persecution and violence seemed more opposed, I have seldom, if ever, met with. Indeed, he has bound himself by positive engagements to put a stop to persecution. In the letter now enclosed, he says he will treat it as deserving excommunication; and this is in accordance with a recent declaration which I have had from him, viz., that the Armenian Church nowhere, in any of her books, nor among any of her writers, acknowledges the lawfulness of temporal penalties for spiritual offences. What can we ask more, if, in addition to this, the Patriarch shows himself ready to take up and investigate every alleged act of violence, and, upon adequate proof, to punish it? . . . Such being the case, is it too much to ask that his influence be not diminished, or his continuance in office endangered by anything that may be done to arrest the evil complained of, and this the rather, as the English Church is aiding him in his efforts to establish Schools and otherwise improve his people, and he is seeking to cultivate friendly relations with her.⁹⁴

But the pleadings of the bishop were of no avail. Sir Stratford Canning was in no doubt as to the accuracy of the version of the American missionaries, and of the fact that a religious movement was in progress. On March 18, 1846, he sent to the Earl of Aberdeen a *précis* of statements given him, and referring to forty cases of persecution, and added: "I have every reason to believe that these statements are substantially correct." The references were to cases where business hardship had been inflicted, and to a few instances of personal violence. His letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, in which the *précis* was enclosed, shows that the writer fully appreciated the position of the Evangelicals:

A change of no trifling extent and importance is manifestly working in the Armenian Church; a considerable and growing number of its members have learned that it is a duty to read the Gospel and to renounce everything which will not stand the test of a reference to its precepts. Of these but few are as yet prepared to make an open profession of their faith; but while the more courageous stand forward and brave the censures of the hierarchy, many hundreds are believed to look forward in secret to the time when they may declare their opinions without pre-

94 *British and Foreign State Papers*, 35, (1846-7), 1162-3.

judice to their temporal interests. The same period which realizes that cherished hope, will probably witness the recognized establishment of the Protestants in Turkey under a separate spiritual head. Desirable as such an event may be, I need not assure your Lordship that my interference has never assumed an official character, and is strictly limited to the discouragement of persecution on the one side, and to promotion of peace and subordination, as to all overt acts, on the other . . .⁹⁵

The same painstaking effort to understand the nature of the dispute was found in Canning's successor, Lord Cowley, formerly known as Sir H. Wellesley. The *State Papers* abundantly prove that he both recognized that there was a genuine religious issue involved, and was able to appreciate the characteristics and differences of the churches of the Levant.

The conclusion from the discussion in this section is clear. The American Board in its work in the Near East had to contend not only with Eastern governments and ecclesiastics, but also with representatives of a new school of thought in Anglicanism. Two of these, Tomlinson and Badger, belonged to the Church of England; the third, Southgate, belonged to the American branch of the same church. The American missionaries in their endeavors to set the Turkish Protestants free with the freedom which the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of 1841⁹⁶ had intended to secure, and one similar to that enjoyed since 1831 by Roman Catholic Turkish subjects, had to reckon with Southgate as one of their chief opponents. So much did he represent the Tractarian idea, and so complete was his sympathy with Oriental Christianity, that he was unable to see that it was possible for Easterns to differ from those churches, and that as Evangelicals they had a right to claim freedom in the exercise of their religion.

No estimate of the work of the American Board in the Near East would be just unless it gave due recognition to the apostolic passion of those men and the triumphs of their faith, for which an honored place will in the long run be found in the annals of

⁹⁵ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 35, 1155-6.

⁹⁶ On Jerusalem bishopric see *ante*, 49 and footnote.

the church universal. But it is the function of criticism to take note of weaknesses also, and of defects; and such are to be found in the ecclesiastical and political consequences of the mission.

Dr. Dwight, after referring in his Journal to the plight of Protestants in Turkey and the inevitableness of the formation of a Protestant sect, expresses profound regret at the necessity for such a development. "It seems to me clear," he says, "that we have nothing to do directly with building up such a sect. We came here, not to form a sect, but to preach the gospel, and leave that to exert its legitimate influence among men."⁹⁷ Another missionary, the Rev. J. D. Paxton, writing from Beirut on January 9, 1837, said:

The present plan, as I saw it practically at work, seems to be to avoid very much, if not altogether, touching those points which we consider the most fatal errors, and which we really wish to correct; as praying to the Virgin and Saints, worshipping pictures, obtaining pardon of sins by the priests, relying on fasting as meritorious, holding to baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation, etc. . . . The plan is gradually and almost insensibly to reach the evil and effect the reform. . . . The plan embraces the idea of not separating persons from those corrupt Churches, but keeping them in them, not pulling down or injuring those Churches, as it is called, but working in them, purifying them and reforming them.⁹⁸

These and many other like utterances were in keeping with the official declarations of the Board that the aim of the mission was not the making of proselytes, but the revival and purification of the Eastern churches. The missionaries, however, with their Protestant conception of "the church," found they were hastening that very disruption which their sincere professions were quick to repudiate. If these men had been fully sensitive to the evil of schism, they might have been better able to guard against it, and might have discovered some happier way of bringing about in the ancient churches the desired reformation.

⁹⁷ *Missionary Herald* (Sept., 1840), 355.

⁹⁸ The letter was addressed to the Rev. Josiah Brewer, then a missionary at Smyrna. The above words are given and discussed in a sermon by Arthur Cleveland Coxe, preached at Hartford, Conn., October, 1846, in behalf of the Protestant Episcopal mission at Constantinople.

In those days the European powers seemed to have forgotten that the religious groups in the Ottoman Empire were distinct nations. It was otherwise with the subject peoples themselves who through the centuries, and at great cost, had been successful in keeping the spirit of nationality alive. With such endeavors the respective national churches had been closely identified, so that patriotism had come to be thought inseparable from the traditional ecclesiastical allegiance. The denial of the church in each case came to be viewed as the disowning of one's country. The Greeks for instance did not intend to be ungrateful toward the Western peoples whose philanthropy was bounteous and constant and who but a few years before had helped them to regain their independence. Nevertheless, they turned against their benefactors because these through their missionaries were in effect tending to subvert that very nationality which had lately emerged from captivity into vigorous self-consciousness..

It may indeed be true that the circumstances of the period could have given no other outcome to the work of the American mission than what actually came to pass. But the criticism may still be made that the missionaries, accustomed as they were to the American principle of dissociation of religion from the state, did not see how destructive nationally was the work upon which they were engaged, whether among the Greeks or the Armenians.⁹⁹

Of recent years the situation has changed somewhat. It has come to be felt, at least among the Armenians, and as a result of common suffering and sacrifice, that patriotism and the the national church are not necessarily identical; and that loyal Armenians are to be found among Protestants and Roman Catholics as well as among Gregorians. Had that been realized during

99 Julius Richter, in his sympathetic *History of Protestant Missions to the Near East*, is nevertheless led to admit (66-76) to the full that the political consequences of the work of the American Board in the East were as indicated above.

the period under consideration, there probably would have been little or no persecution on account of Protestant activities.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ The various imperial charters on the Armenian question, including the Hatti Sherif of Gul Hané, Nov. 3, 1839, the Protestant charter of 1847, the Imperial Protestant charter of 1850, the Imperial Firman of 1853, and the Hatti Houmayoun of 1856, may be found in the *Memoirs of William Goodell*, 480-489.

CHAPTER V.

LESSER PROTESTANT EFFORTS

The eagerness of the American churches to help the Greek people recently emancipated from the Turks showed itself in a variety of ways, not the least of these being the increased activities in the Near East of Bible and Missionary societies. Among the most important of these agencies were the American missions which have already been considered. But there were two lesser ones besides, now scarcely remembered, yet sufficiently interesting to be deserving of permanent record. That they are neglected is no doubt largely owing to the fact that they were of brief duration, and, as far as one may judge, had little lasting effect. These were the missions respectively of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association, and of the American Baptist churches.

THE NEW HAVEN LADIES' GREEK ASSOCIATION

At a meeting held in New Haven, Connecticut, on December 10, 1830, in the lecture room of the historic Third Congregational Church, and under the presidency of the Rev. Leonard Bacon, a leading New England divine and author, an address was given by one of the members to an audience of distinguished New Haven people on "The Importance of giving an Education to the Children of the Greeks." The occasion was the first anniversary of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association.

The report issued in connection with this first annual meeting gives the history of the movement.

"This Society," it states, "owes its origin to that sympathy which the sufferings of the Greeks, during their long struggle for liberty, had excited among the friends of humanity in this country. That sympathy led to such an acquaintance with the character, and with the intellectual and moral wants of the Greek people, as inspired in many a benevolent mind, a desire to aid in the renovation of a race, whose virtues and whose intellectual en-

ergies, so many ages of degradation have not been able entirely to destroy. . . .

A few ladies of this city, after much inquiry and consultation, united on the 2d of September, 1829, in forming the Society, which now celebrates its first anniversary. For the sake of giving their plans and efforts the greatest simplicity, they limited themselves to the single and appropriate object of establishing among the Greeks, *one or more female schools*. Schools for Greece had been proposed, and in some instances established, by the benevolence of Christians in other countries. It was expected, that the sympathy with the Greeks which had been so efficient for the relief of their physical sufferings, would soon be exerting itself with similar efficiency to secure for that people by education, the intelligence and moral principles, which are the elements of true civil liberty. At the same time it was supposed, that this Association, pursuing its distinct object, the elevation of the female character by the establishment of female schools, would occupy a department entirely its own; and would employ its strength to the best advantage.¹

The report goes on to state that the "Rev. Josiah Brewer and lady, and Miss Mary Reynolds,² were employed to carry into effect, as Agents and Teachers, the benevolent design of the Association," and that they had sailed from New York for Smyrna, on December 9, 1829. Mr. Brewer, the chief figure in the enterprise, was born in Monterery, Berkshire County, Mass., in 1796. He went to Yale College graduating in 1821 and continued as tutor there for some years. In 1826 he was appointed by the American Board as its first missionary to the Jews of the Levant, his support in that work being met by the "Female Society of Boston and Vicinity for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews." He sailed from Boston for Smyrna, in September of that year, but in January removed to Constantinople, where he expected to find more adequate facilities for the study of "Hebrew-Spanish," the language of the majority of Jews in the Levant.³ While there he came to the conclusion that there was little prospect of gaining access to the Jews; whereupon he turned his attention instead to the study of Turkish and modern Greek. Leaving Constantinople because of the political disturbances of the time,

¹ *First Annual Report* (New Haven, 1831), 5, 6.

² Miss Reynolds became the wife of the Rev. Wm. G. Schauffler of Constantinople. See *ante*, 73. Also *Autobiography of William G. Schauffler*, 1887.

³ On the Jews of Constantinople, see 73.

he went on to Greece where he engaged in investigating the missionary prospects of that field, and in distributing Bibles and tracts. After this he was in Smyrna for a while, and in May, 1828, he sailed for home, arriving in Boston in July. His connection with the American Board came to an end that year.

Mr. Brewer's later history was varied. Soon after his coming to America he was appointed missionary under the auspices of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association, and returned to Smyrna, where he gave himself to general missionary work, and to establishing schools chiefly for the education of women. In 1831 he began a weekly paper in modern Greek, *The Friend of Youth*,⁴ which was probably the first religious newspaper to be published in that language. It lasted, however, only a few months. The year following it was revived as an English journal, but with a page or more in Greek. From 1834 to 1835 it bore the title *The Star of the East, and the Friend of Youth*. It came out again for a brief period in 1836, in English throughout, the lengthy title being enlarged still further by the addition of the words *and Smyrna Seamen's Monitor*. At the same time a new paper was issued by Brewer in Greek which bore the title *The Traveller*.⁵ From all this it is seen that Brewer appreciated the importance of religious journalism in evangelizing the Near East, and was among the pioneers in that work.

Toward the end of 1835, Brewer was in America again. His agreement with the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association terminated that year, but the Association, which spoke highly of his work in its report, encouraged him to seek a position under the Western Foreign Missionary Society of Pittsburgh.⁶ This he

⁴ Information from Mr. Brewer's private papers.

⁵ Lasted from Oct. 1836 to May 1837. Fifteen numbers.

⁶ The Western Foreign Missionary Society was organized by the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburgh in 1831. It was later merged in the Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society which was formed in 1837 and which in 1838 became The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Brewer entered into correspondence with this Society in 1833. Two years later the Presbyterian "Asia Minor Mission" was formed, to which he was appointed by the Pittsburgh Society. When this organization was merged into the larger one, the mission was discontinued. See *Western Foreign*

did, accordingly, and was sent back to Smyrna where he represented also the American "Seamen's Friend Society."⁷ But this connection also was brief. In 1837 occurred in the United States the great division in Presbyterianism, the resulting bodies coming to be known as the Old School and the New School. The Old School insisted, among other things, on a strictly Presbyterian form of government, as against an admixture of Congregationalism favored by the New School. The Western Foreign Missionary Society now came under the control of the Old School, and became the Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society. Mr. Brewer, therefore, being a Congregationalist, felt it his duty under the circumstances to resign his position.⁸

From 1839 Brewer was chaplain at the state prison in Wethersfield, Conn., but his interest in the Near East continued, and efforts were made by himself and friends to persuade the American Board to re-open the case and restore him to favor and to the ranks of its missionaries. Writing of the events of 1838 Tracy says that since Brewer's dismissal "at his own request in 1828, the Committee had often been blamed for not receiving him again into the service of the Board, but had never received any offer of his services, either from him, or from any person authorized to act in his name." A memorial on the subject from the Berkshire Association of Congregational Ministers led to the appointment of a committee to give the case a new hearing, and to report at the next annual meeting.⁹

Missionary Society, Second Annual Report (1834), Fourth Report (1836); Minutes of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (1837), 6, 7, 9. Brewer's letter in the Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Chronicle (June, 1833), 41, 42.

7 American Seamen's Friend Society, formed 1827. Brewer had begun to work of his own accord, and gratuitously, for American sailors in Smyrna. For a few years he received some assistance from the above Society but it was discontinued in 1838 because of the Society's financial straits and because it was felt that the few American sailors who might get to Smyrna could surely depend on the interest and kindly offices of the many English and American missionaries in that vicinity. See the Society's *Reports* for 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838.

8 Sketch of the life of Josiah Brewer, 71, quoting notice by the editor in the last number of his paper, *The Star of the East*, (March 24, 1837).

9 Tracy, *History of the A. B. C. F. M.*, 378.

The committee referred to prepared its report in 1840¹⁰. From this lengthy document it appears that the missionary's grievance against the American Board was that he had been constrained by some of the members to withdraw from its service for groundless or insufficient reasons, and that "some of their subsequent doings, letters and verbal statements" had the effect of invalidating the "dismissal in regular standing" to which he had referred. He demanded, by way of redress, an immediate and unconditional restoration to the service of the Board. He justified this demand by referring to the repeated declarations of the Board to himself and to his friends, prior to 1828, that they "had no complaint to make against his Christian or Ministerial character, nor any charge of disobedience to their instructions, neglect of duty or disrespectful language."¹¹

The committee did not think it wise to restore Mr. Brewer to his former status as a missionary, but they did agree that the form of dismissal given him had not been such as a man of his standing and character was entitled to receive. Accordingly, they suggested a new form which was to rectify the unpleasant elements of the earlier one. The Board agreeing to this suggestion, a new dismissal was issued in 1840, and the case was closed. The new wording declares "that he is dismissed in good and regular standing as a Christian and a minister, and they would recommend him to the kind attention and christian confidence of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ wherever God in his providence may call him."¹²

The two main interests of Brewer's life were the cause of foreign missions and the abolition of slavery. In 1821 he had seriously considered taking the latter as the subject of his graduation oration at Yale. This same passion led him, in 1841, to join in the formation of the Union Missionary Society at Hart-

10 A. B. C. F. M., *Annual Report* for 1840, 58-63.

11 These words were brought to the notice of the special committee of 1839, as from a letter of Mr. Brewer's to the Board in 1828. *Annual Report* (1840), 58-63.

12 *Annual Report of A. B. C. F. M.* (1840), 63.

ford. This Society originated with members of Negro churches of which there were perhaps a hundred in the "free States."¹³ Persons "of all Evangelical Churches, without distinction of *complexion*" were invited to join it. Its object was to minister to the needs of these people, and if possible to undertake missionary work in certain parts of Africa. The personnel of the Society was largely Negro, but the chairman of the executive committee was none other than Josiah Brewer himself, who was also editor of the monthly paper.

This paper was called the *Union Missionary Herald*, and was published for a little less than two years, coming to an end because of inadequate support.¹⁴ Throughout its brief course, it gave from time to time extensive selections from the Journals of the editor, written during his stay in the East, as well as articles by him concerning that mission field. Moreover, as was natural in a periodical of this kind, it strongly supported the cause of the Negro in the United States, taking the American Board severely to task for what was felt to be its weak stand on the subject of slavery. The editor contended that there was great inconsistency in the sending by the Board of men to found schools and colleges in the Near East, when at home it tolerated and supported persons from slave-owning states which did not allow the Negroes to be taught to read, and even sent as its missionaries to Greece persons from one of these states, namely Virginia.¹⁵

In 1842 he removed to Hartford and entered the service of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, at the same time editing certain papers of abolitionist views.¹⁶ He was in educational work from 1844 to 1857, first at New Haven and then at Middletown. In 1846, in keeping with his anti-slavery sentiments, he took a leading part in the formation of the American Missionary

¹³ *i. e.*, where slavery was not allowed.

¹⁴ Vol. I, No. 1., (January, 1842). The last issue seems to have been the combined "July-August" number, 1843.

¹⁵ *Union Missionary Herald* (February, 1842), 51. In this connection he must be thinking specially of Messrs. Houston and Leyburn.

¹⁶ *The Charter Oak* (monthly, July, 1842-June, 1843); *The Connecticut Observer* (weekly, July-December, 1842); and, assisted by others, *The Christian Freeman* (weekly, January-June, 1843).

Association—a Congregational society which was largely interested in the education and uplift of the southern Negro, and which since 1859 has devoted itself almost exclusively to that task. For the next nine years he was acting-pastor at Housatonic, Mass. In 1866 he went to reside without pastoral charge at Stockbridge, Mass., where he died on November 19, 1872.¹⁷

The report of the first meeting of the Society, and the biographical notice regarding Mr. Brewer, give only a partial explanation of the origin of this enterprise. Investigation shows there is an "inner history," the nature of which may be inferred from contemporary documents.

In his history of the American Board¹⁸ the Rev. Joseph Tracy says that Brewer returned unexpectedly to America in 1828 and that this led to some disagreement with the Board. He had been sent to the East with the understanding that he should remain there for two or three years. A resolution was passed by a special committee concerned with this case, to the effect that in deciding to return to the United States he had acted conscientiously and "without any intention to violate an established usage of the Committee." But when he later expressed a desire that the committee should send him forthwith to Greece to establish a college, they declared they were not prepared to do so, one reason for their refusal being that they were not sufficiently acquainted

17 Mr. Brewer's first wife was Miss Emilia A. Field, daughter of the Rev. David A. Field of Stockbridge, Mass. She died in 1861. He next married Miss Lucy T. Jerome of Bloomfield, Conn. He had several children, one of whom, David Josiah Brewer, rose to the position of associate justice in the United States Supreme Court.

Information regarding the missionary and his work may be obtained from the obituary notice in the *Minutes* of the 71st Annual Meeting, June 19, 1873, of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, 138. The writer is especially indebted to the missionary's daughter, the late Miss M. Adele Brewer, of Stockbridge, for the use of private documents including a *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Josiah Brewer, Missionary to the Greeks*, prepared by his son, F. P. Brewer, for the family, and privately printed in 1880.

There is a useful book, by the missionary himself, on his earlier experiences in Turkey, entitled *A Residence at Constantinople in the year 1827, with Notes to the Present Time*. By Josiah Brewer, Missionary to the Mediterranean, 2nd ed., (New Haven, 1830).

18 Tracy, *History of the A. B. C. F. M.*, 206.

with conditions in Greece to warrant this undertaking. The matter came up before the Board at its annual meeting in 1828, but with the same result: it was considered inexpedient to send Mr. Brewer again to the Mediterranean. "These transactions," says Tracy, "produced some excitement in a few places, and at New Haven, Connecticut, a society of ladies was formed to support Mr. Brewer in the East."

From the foregoing it is evident that the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association was in some measure organized by persons who felt that Mr. Brewer had not been fairly dealt with by the Board, and that his services as a missionary ought not to have been terminated. On the other hand his frequent changes in opinion and in location on the mission field which suggest that despite his gifts he was not a man who could be happily employed by an organization, may sufficiently account for the misgivings of the Prudential Committee.

When the New Haven Society sent its three missionaries to Greece it was expected that they would "proceed from Smyrna, with as little delay as possible, to the Island of Tenos, which lies within sight of Syra the scene of Mr. Brewer's former labors in a similar enterprise; and that there they should establish first an elementary school, afterwards, as some of their pupils become sufficiently advanced, a *high* school for females. Still, as at that time the affairs of Greece were known to be fluctuating, and as (the Society's) Agents and Teachers on their arrival might find a different state of things, from that which existed at the date of the latest advices previous to their departure," freedom was given them to change or modify this plan.¹⁹

On their arrival they were gladly received by the few Evangelical Christians in Smyrna, and while there they reconsidered the whole situation and decided to remain in that city, beginning a school without delay. The reasons given for the change of location were (i) that New Greece was but a small country in territory and there were more Greeks outside than within its limits; (ii)

¹⁹ *Report of the N. H. L. G. A.* (1830), 7.

that the Greeks of Asia Minor were always more enterprising than those of Greece proper, especially in their efforts to promote education, and that whereas the college which they had maintained at Scio was destroyed and the people scattered in consequence, they were now coming back and were no less eager to acquire knowledge; (iii) that as the Turkish Empire had learnt its lesson, and was in awe of Russia, it was probable that Christians would now be treated better, and that no obstacles would be thrown in the way of efforts to promote education among the Greeks;²⁰ (iv) that Greece as a field was already fully occupied by missionary societies; (v) that "some degree of jealousy to foreigners, appears not only to exist, but to be increasing, with the members of the government in Greece, and among individuals of distinction and influence, (and) with this fact before us, it cannot be said, how long the door may be open for American Schools, masters and Missionaries, to enter and be employed (whereas) in Asia Minor there is no obstacle of this character."²¹ Further reasons were given in a letter of Brewer's, namely, that Smyrna was an excellent center from which Greeks of Asia Minor as a whole could be reached, and that the ground for such work had already been prepared by the labors of many other American missionaries.²²

The Society's *Report* for 1833 gives in convenient summary an account of the work done by its agents in the Near East. The school for girls not only prospered in numbers and in results, but stirred up the Greeks of Smyrna to agitate for schools to be started by themselves for the education of their boys, and conducted according to the same system.²³ It was soon found neces-

20 How mistaken this confidence was is seen in the fact that in time the most serious opposition to Evangelical missions originated in Turkey, and with the Greek patriarch who could depend on government co-operation in the carrying out of his plans.

21 *First Annual Report of the N. H. L. G. A.*, (1831), 9.

22 *Ibid.*, Appendix, 19, Letter from Josiah Brewer to the Association, dated Smyrna, 8 March, 1830.

23 This was the Lancasterian plan, in vogue in America, and adopted by American missionaries. It is named after its originator in England, Joseph Lancaster, 1778-1838. The system was to use in a school a

sary to secure larger premises, and the pupils increased to one hundred and fifty. To this school there

were added at an early period, two other schools, one on the same plan with that just described, the other of a higher order, and denominated the Pay School. In this last a small sum is charged monthly for tuition. . . . The plan of a pay school was adopted in this instance, not in the expectation that the school would do much towards its own support, but chiefly with a view to making it more select, and to promote among the Greeks a disposition to educate their own daughters at their own expense. The number of pupils in this school has been from fifty to sixty.

The school was under the superintendence of Mrs. Brewer.

In addition to all this, the missionaries "undertook for three years the entire instruction of a school for Frank children.²⁴ This school embraces the children of the more wealthy and influential families of Smyrna." It had as many as fifty pupils, but reasons of health and the accumulating labors of the mission, led to its transfer to other hands.

On the subject of religious work the *Report* for 1833 says, On the Lord's Day, while Miss Raynolds is engaged in a Sabbath School at the house of the British Chaplain, Mr. Brewer meets a great proportion of the pupils of the eldest school, and those of the Pay School, with many of the parents, . . . for religious instruction. After prayers and the recitation of catechetical and Bible lessons, the younger scholars are dismissed, and the elder with their friends present, sit down to Bible class exposition. Besides this he ordinarily preaches to an English and American congregation either on board some vessel in the harbor, or in the chapel of the Dutch Consulate, or in both places; and in the evening conducts a public religious service in his own house. . . .

A favorable impression went abroad very extensively among the Greeks, in regard to the nature of the mission on which our agents had been sent. Letters came in from strangers in distant places, soliciting aid in the establishment of schools, from the American teachers. . . . The expenditure of a comparatively trifling amount for a few successive years, in promoting schools among the Greeks of Asia, would tell with incalculable power upon the

few conduct monitors, and a number of teaching monitors drawn from the more advanced students. It was thus possible for one teacher to control several hundred children, and to establish many more schools in the country than would have been possible in view of the inadequate financial support of education by the government. The system was introduced into New York City in 1805 and spread rapidly throughout the country.

24 The term 'Frank' relates to Europeans of northern and western Europe.

(renewal) . . . of primitive Christianity in all the regions hallowed by the footsteps of Apostles.²⁵

In the *Union Missionary Herald* for July 9, 1842, there is an article on "The Missionary Policy toward the Oriental Churches." Mr. Brewer has occasion there to comment on a letter to himself from Mr. Hartley of the Church Missionary Society; on the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Letters Commendatory" to Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem; on similar letters from Bishop White and others to Protestant Episcopal missionaries going to Greece; and on a communication which had appeared in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* for February, 1842, from Mr. Love of the Baptist mission, entitled "The Need of the Gospel in Greece."²⁶ The editor's comment is entitled "The Conclusion of the Whole Matter." It is severely critical of "the prevailing missionary policy towards the corrupt Churches of the East," pleads for thoroughness in presenting the Evangelical message, and holds that "considering the strength of the Puseyite tendency to reunion with the Papacy on the part of that branch of the Protestant Church which was studiously careful to depart as little as possible from the Roman Catholic, the call is now . . . to make a more thorough Eastern Reformation."

Among the reasons for the speedy termination of the mission of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association the chief was the decline in America of interest in the work.²⁷ Moreover complaints were being heard regarding the lack of results, and there was a sense of the futility of the whole enterprise.²⁸ These considerations are sufficient to justify the very detailed and lengthy account of the many things accomplished by the mission, which Mr. Brewer felt called upon to give in a printed statement en-

25 *Report of the N. H. L. G. A. for 1833*, 5, 6, 7.

26 With the exception of the first, these are all referred to in chapter II, and elsewhere in this work.

27 The *Report* for 1833 lamented the fact that the net income had not yet reached the sum stipulated in the agreement with the missionaries, though with economy these had made what they received adequate for their needs.

28 Even at the end of the first year there may have been misgivings. At any rate the *Report* for 1831 is careful to remind its readers that missions have often had to wait five, ten, sixteen years for success.

titled *The First Four Years of the American Independent Smyrna Mission under the Patronage of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association*.²⁹ Naturally there was a decline in contributions, which meant the curtailment of the work, or (in most instances) the transferring of it to other societies.

But two further reasons suggest themselves. First, there was the mistake of building a mission around one individual. Then again, here was another attempt to evangelize Greece by well-meaning persons who had no appreciation of the Eastern church, and knew little of it save that it was corrupt and superstitious. If this had been an educational effort only, its theological defects would have been no embarrassment to any one. But evangelism cannot be carried on without some clear idea of what is to be evangelized, and why. The prerequisite of any effort in behalf of Eastern Christendom is knowledge of what Eastern Christendom really is. Of this there is little indication in the reports and documents of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association; but only a genuine piety and an eager desire to do good.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION.

On April 27, 1836, the 22nd Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Society was held in the Meeting House of the First Baptist Church in Hartford, Connecticut. That Society, formed in 1813, was still in the vigor and fervor of youth. Its activities in different parts of the world³⁰ were meeting with success. But there was yet another field to which its thoughts were turned. For some years the claim of Greece had been seriously considered and attempts had been made to begin a mission in that country. As early as 1833 the matter was care-

29 Published in Smyrna, 1834. Dated Smyrna, December 31, 1833; Also *Report* for 1833.

30 The American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society owes its origin to the initiative of Adoniram Judson who went to India under the American Board, but while on the way out became convinced of Baptist views and resigned his position. He wrote to America urging the formation of a Baptist Missionary Society, which was done. A convenient one volume *History of American Baptist Missions* is by Edmund Merriam (Philadelphia, 1913).

fully looked into, but the conclusion was that "the Committee do not think that the labors of the Board would be so profitably expended in Greece as elsewhere."³¹ The desire however was not given up, and taking advantage of a resolution of the General Baptist Triennial Convention of 1835, authorizing the Board to commence missions in any new part of the world presenting a favorable opening, the mission to Greece was established. The meeting at Hartford passed the following resolution: "The Board have the satisfaction to state that measures have been taken for the commencement of a mission to Greece, as suggested in former Reports. An individual has offered his services with reference to this object, and will probably embark for Europe the ensuing autumn."³²

The missionaries sent out during the first few years of this experiment were Horace T. Love, and Mrs. Love, Cephas Pasco and Mrs. Pasco, who sailed from Boston on October 24, 1836. The first of these, Horace T. Love, was born in Washington County, New York, in 1809. He was educated at Brown University, and was appointed a missionary on April 4, 1836. Together with Mr. Pasco, he was ordained on the 8th of September of that year at the First Baptist Church of Providence, Rhode Island. On reaching Greece he settled at Patras, but four years later, in 1840, he removed to Corfu. In 1842 ill health compelled him to return to America, and in 1846 his connection with the Missionary Society was brought to a close.

Cephas Pasco was born in Stafford, Conn., on May 4, 1804. He received his training at Newton Theological Institution, Massachusetts, an educational center under Baptist control. He was appointed a missionary on August 9, 1836. In Greece, he too made Patras his headquarters; but on account of Mrs. Pasco's health he was obliged to return to the United States in October, 1839.³³

³¹ *Annual Report*, 1833.

³² *Annual Report*, 1836.

³³ Fuller details regarding the missionaries may be found in *The Missionary Jubilee: an Account of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union* (New York, 1865), 237 ff.

More prominent in the Greek newspapers and speeches of the period are the names of two men who went to Greece a few years later, Messrs. Buel and Arnold. Rufus F. Buel was born in Plymouth, N. Y., November 5, 1812, and was educated at Hamilton College in that state, and at Andover Theological Seminary. He was appointed a missionary on December 2, 1840, was ordained at Hamilton on the 25th of the following January, and left for Greece on April 27 of that year, arriving in Malta in June, and going thence to Corfu. In 1844 he removed to Piraeus, and in 1854 to Athens. He returned to the United States in 1855, when the mission to Greece was closed.

Two ladies were specially connected with that mission. Mrs. Harriett E. Dickson, a Scottish lady of education and culture, had been teacher in the government Female Boarding School at Corfu. That appointment coming to an end, Mrs. Dickson, now a widow, became a missionary under the American Baptist Mission at Corfu. Her connection with that work ceased when the Board withdrew from Greece. Associated with her was Miss S. Emily Waldo, who was born in Charlestown, Mass., on November 30, 1819, and was appointed to the work in 1843. She left for Greece, with Mr. and Mrs. Arnold, on January 1, 1844. When her school at Piraeus was closed by the government in 1847, she went to assist Mrs. Dickson. In 1848 she married Mr. J. York, a native of Corfu who had a school at Zante, and withdrew from the mission.³⁴

The outstanding figure of the missionary group, and one moreover who, subsequently to his Greek experiences, held a prominent place in the affairs of the American Baptist com-

³⁴ There is a biography of Mrs. York: *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Emily York, formerly Miss S. E. Waldo, Missionary in Greece*, by Mrs. R. B. Medberry (Boston, 1853). Though the volume gives the history of the Baptist mission in Greece, it unfortunately has not preserved the Instructions of the Baptist Board to the missionaries, or any other valuable documents. It is interesting to learn however, p. 321 f., that in the controversy between E. Masson on the one hand, and on the other C. W. Andrews who held that missions to the Near Eastern churches on the basis of non-interference were sure to end in failure, she went thoroughly into the matter and decided Dr. Andrews was right. On the controversy, see *ante*, chapter II.

munion, was Albert Nicholas Arnold. Born in Cranstoun, Rhode Island, on February 12, 1814, and educated at Brown University and at Newton Theological Institution, he received his appointment on June 26, 1843. He reached Corfu the following February, and remained there until 1851, when he removed to Athens. He returned to America in 1855, and withdrew from the Missionary Society in the autumn of that year.

He now began a still more distinguished career. He occupied the chair of ecclesiastical history at Newton Theological Institution from 1855 to 1857. For the next seven years he was pastor at Westboro, Mass.; from 1864 to 1869 he was professor of Biblical interpretation and pastoral theology at the Theological Institution, Hamilton, N. Y.; and after that, professor of Biblical literature and New Testament Greek at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1860 from the University of Rochester, and in 1875 he was elected a trustee as well as a member of the executive committee of Brown University. He retired from active work in 1878, and died in 1884.³⁵

Dr. Arnold was a man of scholarly attainments and literary gifts, in modern Greek as well as in English. His interest in Greece never failed. Among his later writings dealing with Greece and its church, some of the more important are "Baptism in the Greek Church,"³⁶ "Greece as a European Kingdom,"³⁷ and "The Theology of the Modern Greek Church."³⁸ An interesting book, both for its style and its contents, was published in Athens in 1883. It is in modern Greek throughout, and its title is *Evangelical Sermons delivered at different times in Corfu, Piraeus, and Athens*.³⁹ These were sermons which he now published because of repeated requests. They are on the whole non-

35 Perhaps the best and fullest account of Dr. Arnold is the obituary notice read at the Brown University Commencement in 1884, and reported in the *Providence Journal* (June 18, 1884).

36 A reprint of an article in the *Baptist Quarterly* (January, 1870).

37 In John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

38 In *Bibliotheca Sacra* (October, 1864).

39 In John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

controversial, and are on such subjects as the Love of God, Salvation through Christ, the Children of God, the Noble Ones of Berea.

Soon after their arrival in Greece, Messrs. Love and Pasco applied to the Greek government for permission to distribute the Scriptures and to engage in teaching, especially by means of a school which they proposed to establish at Patras for boys and girls. Permission was secured and before long the school had forty pupils. In this enterprise the American Board assisted the missionaries with supplies of books. Some missionary work was undertaken in the island of Zante in 1838, and the same year in Patras Mr. Love began holding Sunday services in Greek. In 1839 the mission removed to Corfu, where Mr. Buel joined it two years later. Concerning the Patras meetings, Mr. Love wrote to his Society: "Three Greeks have commenced praying, for one of whom we have comfortable hope that he has passed from death into life; and for another we sometimes almost dare tremblingly to hope."⁴⁰ At Corfu the ladies engaged in teaching, the men in preaching, Mr. Love in Greek and Mr. Buel in English.⁴¹

The first baptism, in the Baptist sense of the word, took place at Corfu on August 12, 1840. It was that of Apostolos, the promising case referred to in the above letter of Mr. Love's. That disciple "had long been associated with the missionaries, and by them had been thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of Christianity."⁴² He was now made native assistant, and was sent to resume the Patras station. This he did, staying there until violent opposition led him in 1842 to retire to Athens.⁴³ We read of two more baptisms at Corfu, just before Mr. Buel left for the United States.

From the outset the mission encountered difficulties, though not until the riot at Corfu did hostilities assume dangerous proportions. Buel had now arrived, and had begun work in that island.

⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society* (1840), 14. Letter from H. T. Love.

⁴¹ W. Gammell, *History of American Baptist Missions* (1851), 304.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 303.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 304.

From the tone of his letters and from the incident mentioned below, it may be inferred that in his zeal he was tactless and provocative.

Christmas eve, 1841, was also the feast of St. Spiridion, a saint specially revered in the island; and in accordance with custom there were great celebrations in honor of the saint. On his walk through the town Buel, as was his wont, carried with him a bundle of tracts, and on reaching the Church of St. Spiridion undertook to distribute them to the assembled crowd. This act, or some unrecorded incident, roused the people to fury and to deeds of physical violence. Buel fled for refuge, but the crowd followed him, breaking into his house, smashing the windows and doors, and destroying Bibles, tracts, and books of every kind. The timely arrival of soldiers from the British garrison rescued the missionary and the ladies, and they were given protection in the citadel. Excited feeling as between the Greeks and the British continued for some days, and a collision took place between some soldiers and the populace in which several lost their lives. On investigation it was reported that the reason for the outbreak was that Buel had given out tracts against the honored saint, and had accused the people of idolatry in assembling to worship the Saint's image—a not improbable course for him to take. The Lord High Commissioner and those associated with him came to the conclusion that the charge was unfounded, and exonerated Mr. Buel from blame; but it was clearly advisable for him to withdraw from that field. This he did, going on to Malta for two years, and then returning to settle at Piraeus.⁴⁴

The opposition in this particular instance seems to have been directed against Buel personally, as the other members of the mission were left unmolested. But there was a riot in Patras not long after the foregoing incident. Apostolos, in December, 1842, was on his way back from Corfu with the two newly-baptized converts already mentioned. News of their coming, and irritation at these proceedings, stirred up a clamor, and when

⁴⁴ W. Gammell, *History of American Baptist Missions*, 303 f. Also *Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society*, (1843).

the party arrived the multitude assailed them and followed them to the house, shouting "Away with the freemasons, away with the atheists!"⁴⁵ The day following they gathered before the house of Apostolos, threatening violence, and charging him with turning the people into Americans and breaking down their religion. Police protection saved the situation, but it was deemed prudent that they should leave the town. Apostolos withdrew to Athens, and there he engaged in such work as his circumstances and the excitement which he had caused would permit. The Patras station was abandoned altogether.⁴⁶

The year 1847, which was the time of the persecution of Jonas King and of the consequent withdrawal of the American Board from Greece, was an anxious one for the Baptist work at Piraeus. Miss Waldo and Mrs. Buel had begun a school, and Buel himself had been holding meetings at his house for Biblical instruction. All this was against the law. In the *Annual Report* of the Society, which contains an account of the troubles of this period, there is the following communication from Buel: "Prior to this, instruction had been given at the mission-house, as reported last year, but without a formal authorization; the missionaries preferring the risk of being interrupted in their work to the alternative of pledging themselves to teaching the Greek catechism, which, it was understood, was the condition on which solely permission to give instruction except in English would be granted. This instruction, however, was interdicted, and the mission school was closed in October."⁴⁷ Mr. Buel received an order from the Mayor of Piraeus, requiring him to "dismiss the school illegally kept in his house," on pain of penalties provided in the penal code for teaching without a license. The order was com-

45 Contemporary Athenian newspapers abound in references to the common detestation of Freemasonry, which, in the view of most people, was a movement interchangeable with Protestantism. Dr. Kalopothakes, who is considered in the next chapter, had to repel the charge of being a Freemason. He maintained that the movement was not the evil thing commonly supposed; and that in any case the Greek Evangelicals had no connection with it. See *Star of the East*, *passim*.

46 Gammell, *History*, 303; *Annual Report* (1843).

47 *Annual Report*, in *Baptist Missionary Magazine* (July, 1848), 278.

plied with, but the Bible classes and the general religious services on Sunday were continued. This, however, was interpreted by the authorities as "teaching," and the missionaries received an order to appear before the court at Piræus to answer to the charge of having "assumed teachers' duties without the requisite permission, of having collected children of citizens on feast-days and Sundays and taught them the Sacred Scriptures, and of having supplied them with books" of a nature forbidden by law.⁴⁸ A small fine was imposed, but the case was carried to a higher court which reversed the decision on the ground that the act alleged had not been proved.

The results of these years of labor were disheartening, probably to the missionaries themselves, certainly to the church at home. In 1849 the church numbered "five members, besides those residing in the mission family—two in Corfu, three in Zante,"⁴⁹ Some translations had been made into modern Greek of useful devotional books, including Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*;⁵⁰ and a number of children had received instruction in the schools. And that was all. In these circumstances, therefore, and in view of the embarrassed condition of the treasury, the Board at its meeting in Providence in 1845 authorized the acting committee to "discontinue the Mission so soon as it might seem to them expedient."⁵¹ But the two missionaries, Arnold and Buel, persuaded the Board to reject the proposal, and the work continued a few years longer, but this time in Athens rather than Piræus.⁵² Nevertheless, misgivings persisted as to its advisability. A committee on European missions, while expressing entire confidence in the missionaries, went on to say: "as to the Mission in Greece (we) cannot speak with the same confidence. Dear to the hearts of many from early associations, long struggles, and severe per-

48 W. Gammell, *History*, 310.

49 *The Missionary Jubilee*, 231.

50 Translated in 1854, under the supervision of Mr. Buel, by Pelecassis, one of the converts.

51 W. Gammell, *History*, 308; Annual Report, in *Missionary Magazine* (July, 1845), 157.

52 W. Gammell, 308.

secutions, it has not yielded the returns which we might have reasonably anticipated."⁵³ "The Greek Mission is now, as it has ever been, extremely weak and well-nigh futile. Very little impression appears to have been produced by it on the community in which it has been placed; no permanent footing has been effected, no access gained to the public mind; no perceptible advantage secured. It still remains an alien to the soil on which it has been thrown. But while the present is thus disheartening, the future exhibits little more promise."⁵⁴

During the next two years there is an optimistic strain. It was thought that signs were promising, especially as there had been one or two baptisms. But feeling in Greece against the Baptists was strong, the more intense because this was the time of the famous trial of Jonas King.⁵⁵ Says the *Annual Report* for 1852: "The person who has been most active in urging forward the persecution of Dr. King⁵⁶ has openly indicated Mr. Arnold as the next object of attack. He has attended Mr. Arnold's services repeatedly, and threatened the Greek brethren. We know not what a day may bring forth."⁵⁷ Finally, three years later, we read that a Committee on the Greek Mission, while not saying that this work ought to be discontinued, was against any further appropriation to reinforce it: "The Executive Committee feel constrained . . . to submit . . . for consideration to the Board if the Mission should be closed"; the alternative to this being that it ought to be adequately supported. The Committee thinks there are strong reasons for closing it, the chief being the lot of the missionaries, the fewness of results, the lack of interest on the part of the converts, the apparent defection of most of them, and the fact that "the prosecution of this part of our enterprise has never enjoyed the cordial approbation of all the Churches."⁵⁸

Thus came to an end an enterprise which must have been

⁵³ *Annual Report* (1848), 40.

⁵⁴ *Annual Report* (1849), 74-76.

⁵⁵ See earlier chapter, on Jonas King.

⁵⁶ This probably was Timoleon Philemon, editor of the *Aeon* newspaper.

⁵⁷ *Annual Report* (1852), 103.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* for July, 1855, 328-330.

of peculiar concern to many in America.⁵⁹ Twenty years of devotion and labor had led to no lasting result; so much so that probably not many are now aware that there ever was a Greek mission of the American Baptist Society. As in the case of the Southgate episode of the Protestant Episcopal Society, so in the present instance, little historical material has been preserved. Indispensable documents connected with it, which one would expect to find in the archives of the Missionary Society, cannot be traced. This lack may be because of a fire in Boston in 1879, in the office of the Tremont (Baptist) Temple, when much valuable historical material perished. It needs to be borne in mind, therefore, in view of the lack of adequate documentary material, that any estimate of the mission is bound to be tentative. Nevertheless, it is permissible, even with the limited sources available, to suggest probable explanations of the failure of the work.

1. In the first place, and as already mentioned in connection with the *Report* for 1855, it had not had the whole-hearted support of the churches at home.

2. It was ever an alien. It never could, in fact, become acclimatized. The ultra-Protestantism of the Baptists of that time could scarcely appeal to the Greek Orthodox mind, which has a profound reverence for antiquity. The American Board was far more fortunate in this respect because its representatives not

⁵⁹ For a brief period this work was resumed. In 1871 the Rev. George W. Gardner and the Rev. D. W. Faunce visited Athens, and came to the conclusion that the mission should be resumed. They ordained Mr. Demetrius Z. Sakellarios, who as native assistant had been associated with Messrs. Arnold and Buel, and who, after their retirement, carried on the mission until April, 1856, when it was discontinued. Since that time Mr. Sakellarios had been to the United States, and had studied at Newton Theological Institute. He had married Miss Edmunds, an American lady of Charlestown, Mass., and returned to Greece to do such missionary work as might be possible.

The ordaining ministers now gave him to understand that the Society would approve of the ordination, and that the mission would be undertaken once more. This was done, but the work was feeble throughout. The Annual Reports, and the letters of this worthy missionary, are pathetic reading. Very few Greeks were influenced, or at least gave indication to that effect. The mission was definitely closed in 1888, the Society making some small provision for the missionary in his old age. See *Annual Report*, 1888, and preceding years; also the *Missionary Magazine* for letters from Greece relating to this mission.

only had some appreciation of the continuity of the church but were themselves steeped in historical theology, and in their preaching appealed not to the Scriptures alone, but also to the Fathers and the Councils.

3. The spirit of the movement at times was wrong.

"We have not fallen," writes Mr. Buel in 1846, "into the snare of petitioning for leave to teach the Scriptures and to preach the Gospel. If it is duty to ask this of the civil authorities, it is likewise duty to abide by their decision. And this might bring our duty to God and duty to the 'powers that be' into conflict at once. The Apostles acknowledged no right in human Governments to restrain, or repress, or even enjoin the preaching of the Gospel. We never read of the first preachers carrying petitions to princes and rulers for *license to preach*. This is a *right*, inalienable as the right to *think*. They, both alike, lie at the basis of all freedom that is worth possessing, and whenever spiritual tyranny holds dominion, there it suppresses one as well as the other. We purpose to stop no Bible class and dismiss no Sabbath school scholar who may like to come for instruction. I see no reason now for the temporary suspension of our work, that would not equally require its entire suspension."⁶⁰

All this may be a mark of determination, or may be equally good logic; but it is not an overture of friendliness to the Eastern church. There is here no attempt to draw near to the East, no aim to purge it from its errors and restore it to its primitive purity; but only a desire to proclaim Baptist principles. Judging from the utterances and the silences of the available material, it would appear that, unlike the missions of the greater societies, that of the Baptists was religious propaganda devoid of the sense of the historic past and present possibilities of the ancient Eastern Orthodox Church. It must be added that some light would no doubt be thrown on this aspect of the subject by the official "Instructions" given to the Baptist missionaries to Greece, if these could be traced. Unfortunately, at this stage, they are nowhere to be found.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Annual Report* (1846), 44-45.

⁶¹ Search has been made for these in the likely localities, archives, or libraries; but so far, in vain. It does not appear that they were ever printed. It is known that in the case of Messrs. Love and Pasco the Instructions were read at the meeting of September 8, 1836, at the First Baptist Church of Providence, R. I., by the "Corresponding Secretary of the Board," and this could be none other than the Rev. Lucius Bolles, D.D.; and those of Dr. Arnold, at the same place, on Dec. 29,

4. It is possible that there was needless thrusting forward of denominational peculiarities. The British and Foreign Bible Society had just issued a Modern Greek version of the Bible. Mr. Buel hoped to induce the translator, Neophytus Bambas, to amend the version in some points,⁶² but evidently his suggestions had not been acted upon. Some light on this cryptic reference may be derived from the Reports for 1835 and 1836 of the American Baptist Mission Board which lament the ending of relations with the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as from an official *History of the Bible Society* itself. The last named work says, with special reference to the year 1836, that for some time past the Society had been agitated by the painful discussion of the proper mode of translating the Greek word for baptism. It had been its practice for some years to make grants to English Baptist missionaries in India with a view to assisting them in their translation of the Scriptures. But in 1827 the attention of the Bible Society was formally drawn to the fact that in all the Baptist translations "the Greek word for *Baptism* had been so rendered as to fix its meaning to the one exclusive idea of immersion." This intimation was by means of a protest from twenty-one other missionaries in India, on the ground of "the injury done among their converts by this limitation of the sense of a Greek term, which they, and, (as they represented), the large majority of the Christian world, believed to be capable of a much wider interpretation." In the discussion that followed, the Bible Society offered to continue its financial contributions to the translators of the authorized English version, "by a word derived from the original, or by such terms as may be considered unobjectionable by other denominations of Christians composing the Bible Society." More than five hundred Baptist ministers in England protested against the policy adopted by the Bible Society, but the latter saw no reason for departing from it. A further attempt in 1840 to reverse that policy was equally unsuccessful,

1843, by the Foreign Secretary. The reference here would be to the Rev. Solomon Peck. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, (Oct., 1836; Feb. 1844.)

62 W. Gammell, *History*, 307, note.

with the result that there was formed a new Baptist organization, "The Bible Translation Society," its work being the issue of Bibles with the word "*baptizo*" rendered "immerse."⁶³ In the United States also there was a violent controversy of the same nature, because of the refusal of the American Bible Society, in 1835, to accede to a similar request regarding translations containing the word "immerse" instead of "baptize." The American and Foreign Bible Society was formed in consequence by the American Baptists.⁶⁴ Both of the original Bible Societies therefore were firm in their refusal to depart from their principle of circulating the Bible without note or comment. It is by no means certain that this particular dispute was reflected in the situation in Greece, and it would be precarious to assume that it was, simply because it happened to be agitating the religious world of England and America at the time. The utmost that may be said is that the remark of Mr. Buel's given above may not unfairly be interpreted as suggesting something of the kind; and that if such was the case, the attitude he represented would be productive of friction with the other missionaries and would tend to divide and weaken the Evangelical forces working for the regeneration of Greece.

5. The greatest weakness of the mission was apparently its lack of appreciation of the East. We look in vain in the writings, reports, or correspondence of the period for words of sympathy with the Eastern church. Even in Dr. Arnold's later writings, where much sympathy is expressed with Greece and the Greeks, there is hardly a reference to the historic church of those people. The peculiar heritage and training of these missionaries had not prepared them to appreciate the significance of a historic communion. Preaching of the Gospel was indeed their constant aim, but there was no attempt to improve or restore the Greek church in a spirit of meekness. It was this lack of appreciation

63 G. Browne, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1859), I., 166-172.

64 W. P. Strickland, *History of the American Bible Society, from its Organization to the Present Time* (New York, 1849), 148-157.

that contributed to making the Baptist mission ever "an alien to the soil on which it had been thrown."⁶⁵

The defect of insensibility to the claims of a historic church, as such, is found in both the lesser Protestant missions, that of the New Haven Ladies' Greek Association, and that of the American Baptists. Because of this lack there was no definite purpose or plan to further the restoration of the Eastern church. But there is no room for a mission to Oriental Christians which is merely a proselytizing agency. Various circumstances, it is true, have contributed and may contribute to the setting up of Evangelical communions in the Orient. Moreover, stern necessity may at times admit of no alternative consistently with the convictions of conscience. The primary purpose however of all work by Protestants in the East should not be forgotten; and that is none other than the renewal of the ancient churches of the East.

But if some of these men were wanting in the appreciation of the church-idea, they were not lacking in interest in the people to whom they would minister, or in the fervent hope of their regeneration. No more fitting words could be found, perhaps, with which to close the chapter than those of the preface to Dr. Arnold's *Greek Sermons*. In that preface written in 1883, or twenty-eight years after he left Greece, he protests his love for Greece and Hellenism. "The author," he says, "still feels undiminished interest in Greece, and confident hope as to her future. He has steadily followed her political career by the aid of her newspapers throughout his absence from her soil. He has ever rejoiced at her growth and prosperity, and has grieved . . . at her difficulties and misfortunes. And now, with love toward her still, he cherishes a fervent hope for her future prosperity and reputation. And especially does he look forward with increasing confidence to the universal triumph in all the nations . . . of civilization, of education, of peace, of righteousness, and of a pure Christianity."⁶⁶

65 *Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society* (1849), 74-76.

66 Albert N. Arnold, *Evangelical Sermons*, (The entire work in modern Greek. Athens, 1883.)

CHAPTER VI

THE GREEK EVANGELICAL CHURCH¹

The Greek Evangelical Church is not a mission, though it owes its origin in no small measure to missionary activities of American Protestants. It is now, and has been for many years, a fully organized church. But the inspiration of the movement came largely from America, as did much of its moral and financial support; its guiding spirit was trained in an American theological institution; and at different periods the work was under the direct control of American organizations.

The first Greek Evangelical community was established at Athens in 1874. Preaching was done elsewhere also, and in 1886 the churches of Athens, Piraeus, Volo, and Yannina, the last named being outside Greek territory, were grouped in a Synod on the Presbyterian system.² In Asia Minor about the same time, and chiefly owing to the labors of the American Board, Greek Evangelical congregations came into being, some of which by the first quarter of the twentieth century had come to have several hundred members. With the expulsion of the Greek population from Turkey in 1923, the majority of these Evangelicals found their way into the kingdom of Greece. The arrival of so many fellow Protestants, and the establishment of more churches,

¹ The writer is specially indebted to Demetrius Kalopothakes, Esq., Ph.D., C. B. E., for much valuable information relating to the history of the Greek Evangelical Church.

² The first Greek Evangelical Synod met at Volo in 1877. Acting upon the suggestion of the Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States this Synod decided to carry on independently of any foreign missionary organization, and foreign workers were consequently withdrawn from Greece. It has been aided, however, by contributions from foreign sources, the Church of Scotland being among those making an annual grant. The Synod has been a member of the "World Alliance of Reformed Churches under the Presbyterian System" since 1893, and is represented officially at its Councils.

led in 1923 to the reconstituting of the Evangelical Synod of Greece to meet the new situation.³

The churches in Turkey, having been founded by a society predominantly Congregational, naturally had adopted this particular form of government. There was intercommunion and co-operation with the churches in Greece but no organic union. The experience, however, of the Evangelical Church of Greece at this time seemed to point to some advantages in the Presbyterian form of government, and in 1914 a preliminary conference was held at Constantinople to consider its adoption; but the World War prevented any action being taken. In 1920, however, the churches in Turkey sent delegates to confer with the churches in Greece, and adopted, subject to approval of the various churches, a Presbyterian Book of Order, a Confession of Faith, and a set of Statutes. Nothing further was done, because the catastrophe of the Graeco-Turkish war, 1922, ended the period of Greek settlement in Turkey. The deportation of the Greek population to Greek territory, including the Evangelical congregations and their ministers, made the union inevitable. In May, 1923, the final act was consummated at Athens and the union of the Greek Evangelical churches was formed on Presbyterian lines.⁴ Definite statistics are difficult to obtain but in any case the membership in these churches is small.³ But in the larger cities regular and systematic work is being done by the

3 For the information in this paragraph the author has made extensive use of a MS kindly supplied by Dr. Demetrius Kalopothakes on "Protestantism in Greece." J. P. Xenides, *The Greeks in America*, 63ff., has been found useful; also the *Annual Reports* of the Synod, particularly those in Greek. It is to be regretted that very little has been written on this Evangelical church other than brief articles in reviews or magazines. An interesting pamphlet giving the main facts appeared in Edinburgh, 1935, by a member of the church in question, then a student at New College: *The Evangelical Movement in Modern Greece*, by M. Kyriakakis, with Foreword by the Dean of Theology, Rev. Dr. W. A. Curtis.

4 The MS on "Protestantism in Greece" referred to above states that the membership is "about 5,100" and that there are six ministers and two travelling evangelists.

pastors and people, and there is preaching of a high order by ministers and lay preachers.⁵

Though the body of Greek Evangelicals has never been large, it has had many able and influential persons within its membership. Its main work, however, has been the influencing of the parent church and helping to bring about that Evangelical stress in the latter which is increasingly evident today—an effect analogous to that of the Armenian Evangelicals upon the Gregorian Church of the Armenians. The situation has been summarized as follows:

The number of Evangelical Greeks in the world is insignificant and the direct result of the whole movement to organize a separate Protestant body is small and rather discouraging. The indirect results, however, have been great and significant. There is a vast number of men and women within the Greek church who are sympathizers with Evangelical principles and who wish to make their church a more up-to-date institution, a greater power for spiritual and moral influence in the life of the people but who do not want to be called Protestants or leave their church connections and join a separate denomination. Thus there is a strong reform party within the Greek Church, and the main or best work of the Evangelical Greeks has been to stimulate and strengthen it.⁶

There have been many obstacles in the development of the Evangelical church in Greece proper. Persecutions have not been wanting, the chief being that of 1892, when a mob attacked the church at Piraeus and the leaders of that church barely escaped with their lives. Then there has been the hostility of that sentiment which persists in identifying nationalism with Orthodoxy, and though the spirit of intolerance has become less pronounced of late because of recent afflictions in which Orthodox and Evan-

5 In the city of Athens there are two congregations, the original one, of which Dr. M. D. Kalopothakes was pastor for many years, and one for the refugee congregation of Smyrna presided over by Dr. Xenophon Moschou who had been formerly the leader of the Greek Evangelical movement in Turkey. Dr. Moschou received his training at the National University of Greece and New College, Edinburgh. He is a preacher of no mean order, as can be seen in his published sermons, *Christianikai Meletai* (Christian Studies).

6 Quoted in Xenides, *Greeks in America*, 66. It should be noted that since his book was written there have been many changes for the better, particularly as regards the legal standing of this church.

gelicals have shared alike, the latter have not been wholly relieved of the undeserved stigma of lack of patriotism which the Orthodox Greeks had sometimes attached to them in the past.

The present chapter, however, is concerned, not with the American mission among Greeks in Asia Minor or with the re-constituted Synod of today, but with the original Greek Evangelical church. The consideration of this subject must take account of the founder of the organization, of its periodical, and of the history of the Evangelical church to 1870 and since.

The founder, Michael Demetrius Kalopothakes,⁷ came of a race of mountaineers. He was born in 1825 at Areopolis in Laconia, a region given to boasting that it has never submitted to a conqueror, Macedonian, Roman, or Turkish. The family had strongly identified itself with the Greek Revolutionary War. His father had been distinguished for bravery in that conflict, and was moreover renowned for his integrity and love of truth and justice, so much so that cases of arbitration were often referred to him rather than to the regular courts.

In 1835, thanks largely to the exertions of a kinsman who had been a leader in the Greek revolution and was later a member of the new government, Petrombeys Mavromichales, the American Board opened a school at Areopolis under the direction of the Rev. G. W. Leyburn and the Rev. S. Houston, both of Virginia, and enthusiastic advocates of the cause of Greece.⁸ To this school young Kalopothakes was sent when he was nine or ten

⁷ In the following account, and especially with reference to the early years of Dr. Kalopothakes, the writer is largely indebted to a biographical sketch, in manuscript, in the archives of Union Theological Seminary, New York. This was written in 1911 and is anonymous, but probably is by Dr. Demetrius Kalopothakes of Athens, son of the former, a graduate of Harvard and Berlin, and a leader in the Evangelical movement in Greece. Other valuable sources of information are the articles by the Rev. Thomas V. Moore in the American periodical, *Record of Christian Work*, (January, February, and March, 1914), entitled "The Gospel in Greece." These include a photograph of Dr. Kalopothakes, as he was in his latter years. Another, and a very important source, is the memorial issue of the *Star of the East*, (July 1/14, 1911). The *Star* for June 1936 may also be consulted.

⁸ On Messrs. Leyburn and Houston, see Anderson, *Missions*, I, 150, 154.

years old, and there during the next few years he both acquired an excellent education and formed habits of daily Bible reading. The successful training he received prepared him to enter at an early age the gymnasium newly founded at Athens, and to complete its prescribed course within a very brief period. At eighteen he graduated, and was appointed headmaster of an intermediate school at Gytheion in Laconia where he remained five years. From 1848 to 1853 he studied medicine in the National University⁹ and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He then became surgeon in the army medical service. "The Medical career which he took up was peculiarly full of promise for him, as he had great natural skill in operating. Though he gave it up because of a still higher form of service, he was always interested in it and would use his medical skill in behalf of poor peasants, during his evangelistic tours."¹⁰

He would have continued in that position in the army, were it not that in 1850 he came under the influence of Jonas King. When the latter was brought to trial for "heretical teaching and blasphemy against God and the Virgin Mary,"¹¹ Dr. Kalopothakes came forward voluntarily as a witness for the defence, though himself a member of the Orthodox church. On the condemnation of Dr. King he felt he could no longer continue in the church of his fathers. He therefore resigned his position and left for America to prepare himself for the Evangelical ministry.

A frequent suggestion by his enemies was that sinister influences had prompted him to take this step, such as financial support from missionary agencies for that purpose. He dealt with these charges on which he was exceedingly sensitive in a defence of himself before an audience at Broadway Tabernacle in New York on September 26, 1869.¹² A summary of his

⁹ The National University of Greece was founded 1837.

¹⁰ Quoted from the Memoir.

¹¹ This is discussed in the chapter on the American Board, *ante*, 70 (chap. IV).

¹² A letter from the Rev. Dr. G. E. White then of Marsovan, Turkey, July 20, 1911, addressed to President Francis Brown of Union Theological Seminary, says: "Dr. Kalopothakes, in the interests of his work, crossed

speech on that occasion is given in *The Star of the East* of February 21, 1870, and following issues. He states, "I declare . . . for the information of those of my readers who do not know the facts that it was at my own expense that I went to America, and not only did I not consent to make use of, but I actually sent back some money which certain friends of mine had forwarded to me at Malta."

On reaching America in 1853, he entered Union Theological Seminary in New York, and pursued the full three-year course, obtaining in 1856 the diploma of the Seminary.¹³ He was ordained by the East Hanover Presbytery in Virginia in 1857, and returned to Greece to devote himself to the work to which he felt himself called, namely, the defence of religious liberty, and the preaching of the Gospel.

He began in characteristic Greek fashion by editing a paper. It was to prepare himself for this task in fact that he went in the first instance to the United States.

"The trial and condemnation of Mr. King," he said to the meeting in New York mentioned above, "and the refusal of the newspaper men of that time (save one exception) to insert in their newspapers the refutation which he had prepared of the false presentation of the testimony of the witnesses, of whom I myself was one, inspired me with the idea of founding a newspaper to advocate religious freedom and the spread of Evangelical truths among the people. These truths I considered and do consider the foundation of all political liberty, which principles the persons connected with *The Aeon* strove so much to exterminate. But the editing of a newspaper of this kind required learning of a different sort and more extensive than was possessed by a student of medicine. I decided therefore that when opportunity came . . . I would go to England or America in order that I might acquire, not only a more perfect knowledge of Medicine, but also those branches of knowledge which were necessary to the fulfilment of the purpose I had in view."¹⁴

The new religious weekly, which was founded in 1858, was

the Atlantic I think as many as sixteen times, and made additional trips as far as England." One of the chief reasons for his going to America in 1869 was to advocate the cause of the Cretans who had once more risen against the Turks.

13 Biographical notice in Union Theological Seminary, *Alumni Catalogue*, 1836-1926, 86. Not until 1896 did the Seminary begin to give the B.D. degree. Before that it awarded only a diploma.

14 *Star of the East*, February 21, (O. S.) 1870, 6814.

called *The Star of the East*.¹⁵ It took the place of preaching, since opportunities for preaching in those days were few. The venture met with a storm of disapproval and every effort was put forth to stop it. Unable to find a printer for this work, Dr. Kalopothakes set up a printing office of his own, and from it issued thereafter not only the periodical, but a great deal of general religious literature besides.

The next twenty years were a period of invective and of hostility directed against the Evangelical movement and its leader. The integrity, however, of the man, his sterling character, his unquestioned patriotism, his undaunted courage, and his ability as an advocate and expounder of his cause, wore down opposition. Nevertheless, "there was no falsehood, no calumny, no insult and injustice, no violence . . . which the community of Athens or the press of that day did not use against those few men who gradually gathered around Kalopothakes, and who sought, at least for themselves, the right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences."¹⁶ A perusal of the Athenian journals of that period will amply confirm the accuracy of this statement.

From 1859 to 1904 Kalopothakes represented the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹⁷ He accepted the agency at a time when the Society had barely begun operations,¹⁸ and when it was encountering enormous difficulties owing to the existing hatred of everything foreign. The influence of the priests, in particular, was against anything emanating from Protestant sources, so that it was impossible at first to find colporteurs. Dr. Kalopothakes

15 *O Astér tēs Anatoles*. Its publication was discontinued in 1885 but was resumed in 1896. It is now an excellent monthly, under the editorship of Dr. Demetrius Kalopothakes. For convenience' sake the paper is referred to in the following pages as the *Star*.

16 Memorial number of the *Star*, (July 1/14, 1911), 3575.

17 For a few years the American Bible Society also had work in Greece (1866-1886), with Dr. Kalopothakes as agent.

18 The British and Foreign Bible Society may be said to have begun work in Greece in 1831, when the Rev. Henry Leeves, the Society's representative in the Levant, stationed at Constantinople, undertook an extensive tour in Greece to promote Bible distribution. G. Browne, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (1859), II, chapter II.

himself had to undertake a tour of the provinces, amid hardships and perils, but he succeeded in opening the way for the assistants whom he was to secure before long for this work. In 1860 the sale was only 900 copies; in 1899, taking into account the added territory of Epirus and Crete, it had reached nearly 20,000 per annum. In addition he undertook the circulation of tracts, working in conjunction with the Religious Tract Society of London.

The literary activities of Dr. Kalopothakes included the translation of many works from English into Greek such as sermons and addresses, devotional classics, and doctrinal works. One other venture of his, which deserves special mention, was *The Children's Newspaper*,¹⁹ begun in 1868 and going on to 1894, when owing to the increased cost of production it had to be discontinued. This periodical, a pioneer in the field, was intended and written for children. Making allowance for the advance since then in pedagogical method, it was a remarkable production. It contained stories for children, simple exhortations, incidents of travel and adventure, illustrations, and a page devoted to puzzles and conundrums. It enjoyed an excellent reputation and a wide circulation among Orthodox as well as Evangelicals.

In 1860 an experiment was made in religious education, a Sunday School being organized in Athens modeled on those of America. This venture met a real need, and Orthodox parents began to send their children to the school. But the ecclesiastical authorities took alarm. In the commotion that ensued the mob became involved, and taking the matter into its own hands broke up the Sunday School on the eighth Sunday of its existence.

The first few years after his return to Athens, Dr. Kalopothakes did not engage in preaching because Dr. King was active in this respect even after the American Board had withdrawn from Greece. But he gathered a small group of Evangelicals which met at Dr. King's house and continued so to do until 1864. When those preaching services were discontinued, Kalopothakes himself naturally became the center of the Evangelical movement,

¹⁹ The *Ephemeris tōn Paidōn*, to give it its Greek title.

and the group now began to meet at his house for the same purpose. The meetings were carried on by him in conjunction with the Rev. George Constantine,²⁰ the second Greek to enter the Protestant ministry. From these beginnings sprang the Greek Evangelical church, and with it Kalopothakes was actively connected to the end of his days, though he resigned in 1904 the regular pastorate of the Athens congregation that he might devote himself more closely to the work of his publishing house.²¹

The following biographical details are given in the same Memoir:

He had a life long connection with the Parnassos Club which does social work among the newsboys; he was one of the founders of the Greek Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; single handed in 1866 he established schools in the vicinity of Athens for the thousands of refugee boys and girls from Crete; he made a point of visiting and ministering to prisoners in his travels; and he advocated legislation for Sunday observance. So prominent was he in every good work, so unceasing in the pursuit of philanthropic aims, and so sincere in everything he undertook, that he lived to see personal opposition to him disappear little by little and even came to enjoy the friendship of his great antagonist of former days, Timoleon Philemon.²² By about the end of 1880 the Athenian public came to desist from the bitter persecution and social ostracism to which the Evangelical movement was subjected. Dr. Kalopothakes finally had the satisfaction of seeing nearly all his colleagues of the press become his personal friends, and if not favor-

20 Dr. George Constantine was born in Athens, Greece, January 1, 1833. He studied at Amherst College, 1859-1862, and was ordained at Amherst in September 10, 1862, when he was sent out by the American and Foreign Christian Union. He remained at Athens from 1863 to 1880, working during part of that time independently, and then under the American Board. He was the United States Vice-Consul in that city, 1864-1874. He moved to Smyrna in 1880. Received the D.D. degree from Bates College, U. S. A., in 1883, died at Harrowgate, England, October 6, 1891. He was responsible for establishing, in 1870, a Greek branch of the Evangelical Alliance. He was the author of a *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, a *Dictionary of the Bible*, and many important theological works besides. *Amherst Alumni Catalogue*; also article in *The Missionary*, (April, 1883), on the Greek Evangelical Mission.

21 During the closing year of his life he found it necessary to take up once more the pastorate of the church. His last service was on Sunday, June 12/25, 1911, on the text from John 19:30: "When Jesus received the vinegar he said 'It is finished' and he bowed his head and gave up the ghost." Four days later, on June 16/29, the preacher himself finished his earthly course. *Star* (July 1, 1911).

22 Editor of the *Aeon*, and son of the first editor and founder of the paper; an important figure in the history of modern Greece.

able to his religious views, at least ready to admit the unselfishness of his ideals and the high integrity of his personal character. And from 1880 on, attacks on Protestant services . . . became of rarer occurrence so that with the sole exception of that on the Piraeus Church in 1892 no serious disturbance of services or personal attack upon Greek Protestants has occurred for the past twenty years.²³

Some characteristics as distinct from activities of Dr. Kalopothakes deserve special mention. His tireless energy and his unremitting labors are in the apostolic succession. Only a man of unusual physical strength could endure the toils, travels, and trials which fell to his lot. His interests were manifold and brought a corresponding increase of duties. It is possible that in one respect his readiness and ability to undertake a multiplicity of tasks did not altogether help the cause he had at heart: the Greek Evangelical Church has produced few outstanding leaders, its work having been done for so many years by Kalopothakes himself.

The people of Maina, in Laconia, are known throughout the Hellenic world for their fighting qualities, and Kalopothakes was no exception to the rule. The experiences and the disturbed character of his ministerial career only served to accentuate those natural traits. An American missionary who knew him for many years wrote regarding him: "He was of a controversial nature as was perhaps unavoidable to a man who was obliged to stand so nearly alone, but his opponents could neither ignore him nor put him down."²⁴ He could give blows as well as receive them. At times he unfortunately answered the slanders of his accusers with counter-innuendoes, as in the war with Timoleon Philemon during 1869-1870.²⁵ He would not compromise, but with unyielding logic joined to unquestioned honesty he held his ground. He was outspoken, but perhaps also too blunt. He was ever a fighter, because of the circumstances of his calling; but that role was not altogether uncongenial to his nature.

²³ Memoir, as above, written in 1911.

²⁴ From a letter regarding him, now at Union Theological Seminary, New York.

²⁵ Some of the more violent attacks on the *Aeon* are in the *Star* of June 14 and 21, 1858; Nov. 28, 1859; Oct. 4, 1863.

Equally pronounced was his patriotism, as was fitting in a man of his ancestry. Two motives governed his course: ardent Evangelical religion, and equally intense devotion to his country and people. He claimed, however, and exercised the privilege of a patriot in criticizing the faults both of the nation and its church. A prophetic voice of warning in times of peace, he was also foremost in rendering service to his countrymen in times of war. He took a conspicuous part in works of mercy during the Cretan insurrection of 1869, as he did also in similar calamities subsequent to that period. Naturally, he was quick to resent the aspersions on his patriotism which came periodically from *The Aeon* and other journals, and in the article of 1870,²⁶ which may be called his Apologia, he devoted a special section to this matter. The editor had accused him of disloyalty because of his speech in New York, as reported in the *New York Herald*.²⁷ To this Dr. Kalopothakes replied that on that occasion he had simply given utterance to facts known and verifiable, whether these referred to the existence of Protestant missions in Greece and of an Evan-

26 *Star* (February 28, 1870).

27 Reported in the *New York Herald*, Monday, September 27, 1869. Both Dr. Kalopothakes and Dr. J. P. Thompson, pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, were incensed at the report in the *Herald* and tried in vain to persuade the editor to make certain corrections. Except that probably in the matter of emphasis upon some points or the ignoring of others the speaker differed from the editor of the *Herald*, it is difficult to see wherein the *Herald* was wrong. But there is an air of detachment in it, perhaps of antipathy, thus confirming the speaker's subsequent charge that the paper had always been opposed to Greeks, and to the cause of the Cretans in particular. The animus may be latent in the very opening words of the article. "A rather small congregation assembled last night at the Broadway Tabernacle . . . to hear Dr. Kalopothakes, etc." It nowhere explains that the smallness was due to one of the worst days remembered in New York, with a veritable cataclysm of rain; so much so, that the *New York World* for Monday, September 27, devotes a leading article to the dreariness of that Sunday.

According to the *New York Evangelist*, (September 30, 1869), he said, with reference to Hill and Robertson, that they had "devoted themselves exclusively to educating the children of the Greeks, and permitted the Greek catechism to be taught therein by a priest of that Church. This proceeding, the speaker thought was a fatal error on the part of the missionaries, as it led the Greeks to consider that their Church was thoroughly orthodox, and confirmed them in their superstitious ideas."

gelical church there, or to the undeniable need of reform in church and society. "In mentioning these things I only gave utterance to truths, I related nothing save incidents of history; and he who utters facts insults no one, dishonors no one, still less does he dishonor his fatherland."²⁸

Having defended himself against the charge of slandering his people, he proceeds to deal with the imputation of disloyalty. The answer begins with the counter-charge that the deniers of nationality are men like Philemon who are serving the interests of Russia, and not those like the author, who are "ever engaged in a task which seeks to strengthen the sense of nationality, and to make the citizens ready to sacrifice life itself in its behalf." He continues, speaking of himself in the third person, "Kalopothakes had an opportunity to change his nationality had he so wished, as had been done by so many other Greeks who had gone to America; but he did not do it, not because he was unaware of the benefits and advantages of American citizenship, but because his own fatherland was still dearer to him. He therefore returned to his native land a Greek by citizenship as he is a Greek at heart. As a Greek citizen he not only has the right but also the duty to work for the spiritual as well as the material good of his country in whatever way he thinks best."²⁹

Dr. Kalopothakes was a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, New York, of the class of 1856. That institution from the first represented the more "advanced" school of thought, but it was also attached to the evangelical heritage of the church. Its origin and outlook were Presbyterian. This influence joined to that of the early missionaries to Maina, moulded his thought, and he became a convinced and ardent Presbyterian to the end of his days.³⁰ The strange thing, however, is that he became a

²⁸ *Star* (February 21, 1870).

²⁹ *Star* (February 28, 1870).

³⁰ Julius Richter, *History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, (New York, 1910), wrongly describes him as a Methodist (166), and speaks throughout of "American Methodist" work in Greece instead of Presbyterian. The reference to "Dr. Richardson" of the Protestant Episcopal Mission (165) should read "Dr. Robertson."

follower of the teachings of Calvin, which in important respects are alien to the Greek type of mind. In particular, Eastern religious thought, from the days of Justin Martyr onward, has been far removed from predestinarianism, and has looked upon human freedom and responsibility as axiomatic. Yet Kalopothakes actually translated into modern Greek that classic of Calvinistic doctrine, Hodge's *Outlines of Theology*!³¹

On the other hand, he was close to Greek Orthodox thought in his entire acceptance of the Nicene faith. To him the Nicene Creed was a sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and this meant the Creed in its ecumenical form, that is, without the unauthorized addition of the "*Filioque*" clause. In the church at Athens there is painted on the wall behind the pulpit this Symbol, but without the words "and from the Son." There is no record anywhere, and there seems to be no recollection on the part of any one, such as may explain when and why the clause was omitted. It may be presumed therefore that there never was any question of adopting the Western variation of the Symbol, even as it was in keeping with the convictions of Dr. Kalopothakes himself to have the creed set forth in its original form, which is also the form insisted upon by the Eastern church.

His ecclesiastical genius is seen in the organization of the Greek Evangelical Church. The distinctive element in his program was that the church should be entirely independent of foreign control. This was due to his appreciation of the general Greek sentiment, which he himself must have shared in some measure. Certainly the extreme nationalism which has been characteristic of modern Greece would never have considered other than as an intruder any religious organization connected with a foreign mission. Consistently with these presuppositions,

³¹ Professor Diomedes Kyriakos of the University of Greece, speaking on the subject of symbolics in his inaugural address in 1867 as professor of theology, put his finger on this weakness of the Greek Evangelical appeal, viz., its acceptance of Calvinistic tenets, including that of predestination. The address was reported in the *Evangelical Herald* of Athens (*Evangelikos Keryx*). Dr. Kalopothakes' reply (*Star*, February 18, and March 4, 1867), cannot be called successful as far as that particular criticism is concerned.

he proceeded to organize the congregations on the Presbyterian model. His oversight of the Athens congregation, and of those which sprang up later elsewhere, was unceasing. To the criticism that he kept everything in his own hands, and that the church was to that extent not given an opportunity to develop a life of its own, the answer must be that the situation demanded a strong man at the head. It may be taken for granted that the democratic spirit of the Greeks would in ordinary circumstances have demanded a church on a democratic basis even at the risk of the factions which would inevitably have ensued. It is therefore a sufficient testimony to the strength of the man that he was allowed to dominate, and that the movement came to be known throughout the country as Dr. Kalopothakes' church.

The *Star of the East* deservedly ranked high in the journalistic world of Greece, and in tone and language compared well with its contemporaries. Primarily a religious weekly, it was nevertheless interested in all other affairs besides. It dealt with an infinite variety of subjects, historical, theological, scientific; with current politics, international or local; with travel and adventure; with poetry and literature in general. Its eight pages showed every week the wealth of reading and extensive learning of the editor. Its politics were anti-Russian throughout, and its sympathies, as was to be expected, were with everything Anglo-Saxon. The impression gathered from its pages is that there are too many allusions to the sayings and doings of the English-speaking peoples, as well as too great a dependence on their journals and writings. But it was a healthy reaction from the equally servile dependence of the rest of the Athenian journals on "Continental" ideas and the French journalism of the time.

A prominent feature in the paper is its devotion to America and American ideals. As an illustration of this may be taken a series of articles which appeared in 1858. The *Aeon*, in keeping with its fanatical nationalism, had written bitter things against the United States, accusing Americans of making religion subservient to their greed, and of possessing a civilization based sole-

ly on materialism. In the *Star* of July 14 and 21, 1858, Dr. Kalopothakes subjects the *Aeon* to a merciless castigation, the more relentless because the offending articles had appeared just at the time when Professor Felton of Harvard, a distinguished scholar and Philhellene, was visiting Athens. The *Star* believes there ought to prevail a spirit of gratitude toward America and gives among reasons for it the support by Webster and Clay of the Greek cause in the War of Independence, the relief sent to the sufferers in Greece from America by the hand of Dr. King, the American schools established in their midst, and the many devoted and philanthropic efforts of Americans in behalf of the Greek people. It regrets the calumnies the *Aeon* allowed itself to utter, which paper "falsely undertakes to represent the sentiments, ideas, and character of the Hellenic nation."³²

That the paper was an independent production is frequently asserted by the editor who denies that he is in any way indebted to Dr. King or that the latter ever wrote a line for it.³³ On the other hand, there is evidence in its pages of a close connection of the two men, and the *Star* may be said to have reflected the opinions of Dr. King. The editor seems to have admitted something of the kind in his speech at Broadway Tabernacle in 1870. This is suggested by the report in the *New York Herald* which,

³² *Star* (June 14 and 21; July 5, 1858). The reference in the text is to Professor Cornelius Conway Felton, 1807-1862 who was president of Harvard College 1860-1862. The *Star* writes in the same strain in its issue of April 29, 1867, the occasion being the outbreak on the part of the Athenian press against an American divine, Lewis Richard Packard (1836-1884), who had gone to reside in Greece for a few months to study the modern Greek language, but whose visit the newspapers ascribed to proselytizing designs. Dr. Packard was professor of Greek language and literature at Yale College. For these names, see *National Encyclopedia of American Biography*.

³³ The *Athens Telegraph* (No. 23, April, 1861), wrote. "*The Star of the East*, a newspaper edited under the inspiration and at the expense of the noted Jonas King, etc." The editor of the *Star* replied (April 22, 1861): "We affirm in the most solemn manner, that the *Star* is our own personal newspaper, being compiled and edited, not by the inspiration and at the expense of Mr. King, but of its compiler and proprietor, Kalopothakes. . . . Mr. King neither has had nor does have anything to do with its compilation or editing. He never wrote a single word for the *Star*." While all this need not be denied, it seems not unlikely that King would exercise some influence upon the paper.

though questioned in the *Star*, could not have been wholly due to journalistic imagination: "When in 1864 Dr. King, (who had helped Dr. Kalopothakes in all his troubles) returned to America, the paper passed entirely into the hands of the speaker and his companion, a Mr. Constantine."³⁴

When Dr. King left for America, the work in Greece passed into the hands of Greeks. On his return to Athens in 1868 he found that the Gospel was proclaimed every Sunday and "rejoiced, not because the preachers were his converts, since they were wholly unconnected with his Society, but because there was being proclaimed the Word of God for which he himself had undergone many afflictions."³⁵ Thus began, as distinct from any American mission, the Greek Evangelical Church, which Dr. Kalopothakes always wanted to be independent and self-supporting, partly to repel the charge that Evangelicals existed because they were sustained by foreign gold, and partly because of the moral effect of self-denial on the native churches themselves.³⁶

Such was the ideal, but it was a long while before it could be realized. For the first few years, it is true, the work was carried on independently of any missionary society, only small grants in aid being received from The American and Foreign Christian Union,³⁷ and from the Virginia Synod of the Presbyterian Church of America. But from 1862 to 1872 the work was definitely supported by the former Society, and from 1873 to 1886 it was under the direction and support of the Southern Presbyterian Church of America. A useful account of the "Greek Mission" to 1883 was given in a report by Dr. Kalopothakes himself and

³⁴ *New York Herald* (September 27, 1869).

³⁵ *Star* (February 21, 1870).

³⁶ Memoir, as above.

³⁷ The American and Foreign Christian Union was a society founded in 1849 for the purpose of proclaiming the Gospel in papal lands; but it extended its sphere of operations so as to include Greece. But denominational Boards began to give increasing attention to their own foreign work, and in consequence the funds of undenominational societies suffered decline. For this reason the American and Foreign Christian Union had to give up its foreign missions including (in 1872) the mission to Greece. Its periodical (later, *The Christian World*,) had at first the same title as the Society.

published in the journal of that church, *The Missionary*, in April of that year. The history of the mission is given as follows:—

The commencement of the publication of the *Star* marks the beginning of the work now known as “the Greek Evangelical Mission” of the Southern Presbyterian Church. This was in 1858, under the auspices of no society, assisted only at the outset by a single small grant from the American and Foreign Christian Union. A year later the Virginia Synod, of which I am yet a member, took up the work, appropriating at first \$500, and a year later \$800; and, in order that the work might be carried on systematically, a committee was formed. . . . “The Foreign Missions Committee” . . .

This was the first Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church South, acting separately. But \$500, or even \$800, were little more than sufficient to meet the expenses of the *Star*, leaving my own support to the kind providence of God. He soon opened the way for meeting part of these wants by bringing the work into relations with the Brit. & Amer. Bible Societies in different ways,—a circumstance which has ever since proved a great help to the Mission, not only in a pecuniary point of view, but still more as a moral support.

“I formed a Bible Class, and Mrs. Kalopothakes gathered a few children into a Sunday-school, the preaching services being kept up by Dr. King. . . .

“Thus the work went on until the breaking out of the Civil War, which necessitated, for pecuniary reasons, the transfer of the Mission to the American and Foreign Christian Union, which had already, in 1862, at my solicitation, sent Rev. George Constantine³⁸ here instead of to Salonica, where they had thought of opening a work. In 1866, Mr. Sakellarios,³⁹ a Greek Baptist, was added to the Mission, to take charge of the printing office, as he was a printer by profession. Mr. Constantine took up the preaching in 1864, when Dr. King went to America, while I had charge of the publication department, and also preached on Sunday afternoon. The Mission took an active part, in connection with Dr. Howe,⁴⁰ in helping the Cretan refugees;⁴¹ opened for them both day and Sabbath schools, which continued above two years. In 1869, the Mission organized the Greek Evangelical Tract Society, in connection with which the *Child's Paper* was started, under my direction as editor. . . . Soon after this Mr. Sakellarios' connection with the Mission was discontinued, and he established an inde-

38 On Dr. George Constantine see footnote, 143.

39 On Mr. Sakellarios, see 129n.

40 Samuel G. Howe, 1801-1876, was one of the great philanthropists of last century, chiefly famous for his work in connection with the education of the blind. A graduate of Brown University and of Harvard Medical School, he volunteered as a surgeon to the Greek army in the War of Independence. He served till 1827. After that he engaged in relief work in Greece. His last trip to Greece was in 1866, to carry relief to the Cretans.

41 On the Cretan insurrection see W. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors*.

pendent work under the care of his own denomination.⁴² In 1872, Mr. Constantine, too, resigned, and the work of the Society, including of course the publication department, remained in my hands. In 1873, the growing tendency in the churches towards distinct denominational, instead of *united* mission work, so crippled the resources of the American and Foreign Christian Union, that it was obliged to give up all its foreign missions, and they were provided for by the different church organizations. The Greek Evangelical Mission applied to its early friends and founders—the Southern Presbyterian Church—its petition was accepted, and it entered into its previous relations, though no longer confined to the Synod of Virginia, but under the fostering care of the *entire* Church. . . .

With regard to results the article says these were small but influential. When the movement began there was only the service conducted by Dr. King, and Athens the only center. In 1883 Athens had two Greek services and one in English, and two weekly meetings for prayer and exposition of the Scriptures. Both English and Greek services were being held at Piraeus. Work was also being carried on at Volo, Salonica, and Yannina. Two buildings were owned, the Greek Evangelical Church at Athens and one at Volo. Forty-nine members were on the church roll, thirty-one by profession, eighteen by church letter from the American missions in Turkey and elsewhere. Three Greek ordained ministers and an elder now formed the Presbytery of the Greek Evangelical Church. It continues: "For many years, there was no *public* administration of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, nor public admission to church-membership by profession; now we invite any one who chooses to remain during these services, and at our ordinations we have had unusually large audiences, and have been in no way molested."

The Greek Evangelical Church has in some respects proved the most permanent effect of American influence on the religious situation within the Hellenic kingdom. It is American Christianity of the Puritan type, transplanted to Greece, but given a Greek character because of the apostle and genius of the movement. It was throughout in sympathy with the parallel and more extensive development in Asia Minor under the American Board, but differed from it in that it sought to be free from foreign tutelage

⁴² See 154.

and to be completely identified with the thought, life, and fortunes of the Greek people. It had not intended to become a rival organization to the ancient church, but circumstances decreed otherwise, and once again the approach of Evangelicalism to the East led to schism. The unpreparedness of the Orthodox church for a reform movement, or its slowness in rediscovering its own evangelical character, helped to set up alongside itself a Protestant organization bearing its witness against doctrines or practices which Evangelicals believed to be unscriptural.

Though never a large community, the influence of the Greek Protestants has been out of all proportion to their numbers, and the things for which they have contended have received increasing recognition. In self-defence the mother church has had to adopt the methods and institute organizations which hitherto had been part of the Evangelical program. Toward the close of his life, Dr. Kalopothakes wrote these words: "Preaching services have been instituted in opposition to ours, religious papers have been started, the Gospel has been introduced into the schools, and a greater activity manifested in religious matters. Unfortunately these efforts at reform have been confined to non-essentials, and any attempt at dissent from the received practices of the Church has been promptly quenched. Still, even such activity is vastly preferable and of better augury than the passive indifference which has hitherto characterized our Ancient Church."⁴³ To this account it should be added that religious journalism within the Orthodox church has become dignified, that preaching has revived, that devotional works have been produced, and that a greater reverence has come to prevail in worship. Even as early as 1870 there were many signs of religious awakening. An article in the newspaper *To Mellon*, which took its rise from a sermon delivered by Dionysius Latas, one of the official preachers of the established church, is entitled "The Need for an Eighth Ecumenical Council." It considers that the existing evils of the church are due to its departure from Apostolic canons and command-

⁴³ Letter, of late date, by Dr. Kalopothakes himself, quoted in the Memoir mentioned above.

ments.⁴⁴ A still more interesting illustration, at once showing both the reforming and the reactionary elements within the Orthodox church, and at the same time the influence of the Protestants, is indicated by the long appeal to the Holy Synod from a committee which had been lately formed at Athens, calling itself "The Assembly of Presbyters," which urged the establishment of Sunday schools and the improvement of the clergy. It is refreshing to find the *Aeon* about this time advocating similar measures. Even as far back as December, 1858, there had begun an agitation for a Greek Bible Society, and for more religious books, as well as for strong measures to remedy the lack of preaching and generally to uplift the nation.⁴⁵ In one respect, however, the Greek Protestant movement, so loyal to the truths of the Gospel, fruitful in good works and rich in evangelical piety, is thought by not a few of its well-wishers to be open to criticism: it is so jealous for the Gospel that it is partial to conservative views and seems unduly suspicious of modern trends in theological science and of the findings of modern biblical scholarship. For an appreciation of these at this stage one must look rather to Eastern Orthodox theologians, clerical and lay, and particularly those who have studied in German and other Western universities.⁴⁶

One other matter in connection with the Greek Evangelical Church is deserving of special consideration. The *Star* on more than one occasion discussed the question of restoring unity to the church of Christ, and pointed out the way in which that desired end might be brought about. The chapter may well be brought to a close by a reference to the basis for reunion suggested therein

⁴⁴ Discussed in the *Star* (July 3, 1871).

⁴⁵ The *Star* (December 27, 1858), approves heartily of *Aeon's* proposal regarding the founding of a Bible Society in Greece. A long extract is given from the *Aeon* in which it argues that, as the British edition of the New Testament is exhausted, another should be provided, but it should come from a Greek source this time; and not the Bible only, but also other religious books. The issue for November 29, 1863, rejoices at the news that an Orthodox divine, Th. Timayenis of Smyrna, was about to start a Sunday school in that city.

⁴⁶ See e. g. F. Gavin on "The Greek Orthodox Church and Biblical Criticism" in *Christian East*, (December, 1922), 162-172. Note also Sergius Bulgakoff, *The Orthodox Church* chapter II: "The Church as Tradition," (London, 1935).

by the editor. Fully acquainted with the writings of the Fathers and respectful towards them, Dr. Kalopothakes was nevertheless unprepared to allow any tests other than the ecumenical creed. There have ever been those who would make the Eastern church narrower than it really is; who would fasten on it shackles from which it is now free, but which once accepted would have the effect of excluding some of her children who may as yet find a home within her borders. In the October, 1863, issue of a journal called *Ethnophylax*, there appeared an article "Concerning the Return of the Heterodox," in which it was shown that the Eastern church has had different methods according to the cases dealt with, receiving Paulicians and Eunomians by re-baptism, Arians and Macedonians by chrism, Nestorians, Eutychians and others only by their disowning their errors. Dr. Kalopothakes has this note regarding the foregoing: "Concerning the acceptance of the Eastern Orthodox Church by the heterodox the Third Ecumenical Council held at Ephesus declared that the confession of the Creed of the first Nicene Council was sufficient," and he goes on to quote approvingly the seventh canon of the Council of 431 A. D. which says, "But those who dare to compose a different Faith (from that of the Nicene Symbol) or to introduce it or to offer it to persons desiring to turn to the acknowledgement of the truth . . . shall be anathematized."⁴⁷

The adequacy of the 'Nicene' or Constantinopolitan Creed is dwelt on again and again in the writings of Dr. Kalopothakes. According to him it "summarizes correctly and clearly the doctrine of true Christianity. The Eastern Orthodox Church considers this Creed inspired. The Evangelical Church does not so consider it, but . . . receives it nevertheless as being a complete and accurate formulation of the Christian faith."⁴⁸ He will not allow it to be forgotten that "the (Greek) Evangelical Church can make it its boast that it has no dogma whatsoever which is not contained in this Creed."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Star* (November 1, 1863). See *ante*, 85.

⁴⁸ M. D. Kalopothakes, *Planon Elenchos*, (Crete, 1910), 25.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 27; and elsewhere.

This was the burden of his message throughout the years. And not only did he dwell on the adequacy of the creed, but he was quick to see, as Jonas King had seen before him,⁵⁰ that it presented the only adequate credal basis for reunion. "The Symbol of Faith," he wrote in 1870 concerning the Nicene Creed, "which according to my judgment was and is the best basis upon which could be established the union of the several Churches of Christ, . . . we, the Evangelicals in Greece in accordance with the decision of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A. D., consider an adequate and sufficient Confession of Faith for every Orthodox Christian."⁵¹

And two years earlier he wrote:

Much has been said and written about the Reunion of the Churches, partly to show that such a step is desirable and would be useful, and partly as setting forth more particularly the manner in which it can be brought about. Mr. King makes the suggestion that all the Churches should accept the Creed of the Nicene Council as their common standard, and gathered around that standard, and united under it, fight the common enemy until Christ reigns in all the world. This idea is attractive and feasible, and the method suggested is the best and simplest of all. We believe that if ever Reunion comes about it will be upon the basis of this Creed.⁵²

50 See *ante*, 85. Also *Star* (November 1, 1863).

51 *Star*, (February 28, 1870). For a recent use in a striking connection by the bishop of Gloucester of this argument, based however on the prohibition of similar import set forth at the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A. D., see *Report of the (Lausanne) Conference on Faith and Order*, (1927), 203 f. An interesting reference, showing appreciation of the "Nicene" Creed and of the Ephesian prohibition of any further credal test, is found in Macaulay, *History of England*, chapter XIV. Writing of the hesitation of the Anglican Reformers as to the inclusion in the *Prayer Book*, of a further creed, the Athanasian, he says, "The Council of Ephesus had always been revered by Anglican divines as a Synod which had truly represented the whole body of the faithful and which had been divinely guided in the way of truth. . . . The Council of Ephesus had in the plainest terms, and under the most terrible penalties, forbidden Christians to frame or to impose on their brethren any creed other than the creed settled by the Nicene Fathers. It should seem, therefore, that, if the Council of Ephesus was really under the direction of the Holy Spirit, whoever uses the Athanasian Creed must, in the very act of uttering anathema against his neighbour bring down an anathema upon his own head." In a footnote to the above, introduced by the words, "it is difficult to conceive stronger or clearer language than that used by the Council." Macaulay gives the Greek text of the prohibitory canon of Ephesus (the 6th) already mentioned.

52 *Star*, (May 25, 1868).

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION

The establishment of harmonious relations between the churches of the East and the Protestant churches of the West would be not only of general religious significance, but would contribute in no small measure to the stability as well as the cultural and political development of the Near East. The study of the American experiment of a century ago may well prove of service in the pursuit of this desirable end. For the historical survey of the preceding chapters shows in what way it is possible to profit from the labors and particularly from the failures of the missionary societies in question. More especially does this have a bearing upon a situation peculiar to the modern world, namely, that of the immigrant, and upon the old problem of the proper attitude toward conversions to Protestantism. Finally, it emerges clearly that since Western ignorance of the history, theology, and mentality of the Near East is responsible for many misunderstandings and consequent disasters, the first and most urgent step needed is the adequate dissemination of relevant knowledge accompanied by adequate training of all who, primarily or indirectly, may be called to labor among or in behalf of the people of the Eastern churches wherever they may be found.

The vast amount of American religious endeavor in behalf of the Eastern churches was the result of the missionary passion which had come to prevail in American Christianity, and which with apostolic fervor sought to preach the pure Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth. It was an enthusiasm springing from a new appreciation of the Christian gospel, and aglow with a vital religious experience. In some instances it is true there was a more or less distinct hope that those churches would be helped toward the recovery of their primitive simplicity, but as a rule

these missionary endeavors were not in the nature of friendly overtures, nor had they any proposals to make in the interests of reunion. It was inevitable, however, that contact in this sense between Eastern and Western churches should have a bearing upon this question, and should lead to the formulation of a policy in connection therewith. Such was the case with the greater mission boards. These, both in purpose and in published statement, agreed that the making of converts was not their aim, and began their work with the intention of befriending the Eastern churches and helping to bring about among these a restoration in the nature of an "Anglican Reformation."¹

The Episcopal church realized at the outset that it enjoyed certain initial advantages,² in that it had the historic calendar and a liturgical form of worship, and that its traditions and organization resembled those of the East. But there were also disadvantages. For Anglicanism could not be dissociated from that Western Christianity from which it had sprung and which the East had excommunicated,³ nor yet from Protestantism which suffered from a like repudiation. The Catholic elements which the Anglican church retained were not sufficient to nullify in the sight of the Easterns the Protestant tenets she received. On the contrary, it was well known that her formularies and statements of faith were largely in harmony with those of the Dissenters; and that, at least in the nineteenth century, she was more in line with the American Board than with the Orientals.

Moreover she appeared inconsistent and undecided. Some of her leaders were working for Protestant ends, others sought the extermination of Protestantism within her and were setting forth a type of Anglicanism unlike what had been commonly re-

1 That this was true of A. B. C. F. M. is further seen from its attitude to Mar Yohanna, the Assyrian bishop and head of that church. When he visited the U. S. in 1841 to represent and plead in behalf of his people, he did so under the auspices of that Board, and the welcome given him by the New England churches was sincere and impressive.

2 The A. B. C. F. M. missionaries were not slow to recognize this advantage of the Episcopalians. Cf. their *Reply*, *passim*.

3 W. Palmer, *Notes of a Visit*, 164. P. E. Shaw, *The Early Tractarians*, ch. V.

ceived. This was not unknown to Christian thinkers in the East who, moreover, found it difficult to conceive of a church at the same time Catholic and Protestant. "You would show us," protested Khomyakov to Palmer in 1841, "that all our doctrine is yours, and indeed at first sight you seem quite right. Many divines and bishops of your communion are and have been quite Orthodox. But what of that? Their opinion is only an *individual opinion*. It is not *the Faith of the Community*. The Calvinist Ussher is an Anglican no less than the bishops (whom you quote) who hold quite Orthodox language."⁴

Nevertheless, these characteristics, which have caused misgivings in the past⁵ may prove to be providentially designed to meet the present situation. For the "comprehension" of the Anglican church means that there is unity in diversity, different schools of thought being given a place in the one ecclesiastical system, and being kept together by a bond deeper and stronger than all these differences. The identity of that church is maintained only so long as each of the sections both recognizes and affirms that the other sections have an equal right with itself to be found within the spacious limits of that church and to act as representatives of it. For this reason, as Khomyakov perceived, it is an error to maintain that she is to all intents and purposes identical with Eastern Orthodoxy. It is much to be desired, therefore, that delegates periodically sent to the East should not be selected from one school alone, because Eastern Christians might be misled into believing that the Anglican church consists only or primarily of that one school, whereas in fact she belongs to the Evangelical and to the Modernist among her children no less than to the Catholic.

Again, because she herself exemplifies unity in diversity she

⁴ In W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, (1895), 101-2; and *Ibid.*, 70, for the view of Mouravieff, the historian of the Russian church.

⁵ For difficulties with reference to missions among Oriental Christians analogous to those of the American Episcopalians, cf. the history of the (London) Church Missionary Society which represents the Evangelical Anglicans. See esp. a lengthy letter by its Secretary, Rev. Henry Venn, given in *Spirit of Missions* (1852), 166ff; (1846), 336.

is better able to understand and to interpret to each other those extremes in the wider Christian world which have their counterpart within her borders, and proves that it is possible for persons to continue in brotherly love, and to live together in unity, despite theological differences deeply rooted in human nature.

The Evangelicals, as the persistence of their missions in the Levant would intimate, were not without special advantages. For theirs was a simplicity in the presentation of Christianity, in that comparatively few aspects of the gospel were dwelt on; a definiteness, in that the emphasis was on one doctrine, that of justification by faith; and an adaptability in the matter of liturgy and ceremonial.

This last was well brought out in one of the controversies already mentioned. The missionaries had been charged with inconsistency because of their adoption of practices strange to their churches in America, and more in keeping with those of Anglicanism, such as "clerical dress, . . . using the Prayer Book, making the sign of the cross in baptism."⁶ Their reply, which admitted that the mission did possess a black Lutheran gown, used not normally but on special occasions such as funerals, sometimes marriages, and more rarely at baptisms, went on to state:

It has often been said by people of this country, that the English and Americans have no religion; and as one evidence of this it is remarked, that when anyone dies among them, he is buried like a dog, no clergyman being supposed to be present when no clerical dress is seen. This led us to adopt the general rule, that whenever we are called upon to attend the funeral of a Frank, whether American or of another nation, we will wear the clerical gown. . . . In regard to baptism, we have sometimes been requested, in the absence of an episcopal clergyman, to administer the rite to the children of persons belonging to the English church, whose predilections were, very naturally, in favor of their own forms; and in consideration of their wishes, we have sometimes used the form of baptism prescribed in the prayer-book, every objectionable passage being conscientiously omitted . . . and if the sign of the cross has been made, according to this form, it has been rarely done, and out of regard to the preference of the parents . . .

On this point we would also add, that in this city of so much bigotry and superstition, where scarcely one can be found who would vary, in the least degree, from his own forms, to accommodate the feelings of others, we rejoice that we have had an op-

⁶ *Reply of the Missionaries*, 13.

portunity of showing a different spirit. By conforming to *all* forms, so far as we innocently could, we have poured absolute contempt upon *all* formal religion. By being ready, in accommodation to the great weakness of men, to use, on special occasions an Episcopal gown, a Lutheran one, a French one, or none at all; to use also occasionally an Episcopal liturgy, a French one, or none at all,—we have shown that we are immeasurably exalted above the littleness of mere form and ceremony, and of that which is only external, and have exhibited a spirit of tolerance, which was not previously supposed here to have any existence on the earth.⁷

These were undoubted advantages. But on the other hand the Evangelicals represented an alien type of thought, placed little value on symbolism and the externals of worship, and tended to be disruptive. It is true their missionaries honestly and constantly expressed themselves as opposed to schism. But the principles for which they stood were conducive to the very thing which these men professed to repudiate. An imperfect appeal to the historic experience of the church, and a pronounced individualism in religion, impaired the efficiency of Evangelical Christianity as a reforming and reconciling agency.

But great credit none the less is due to the Evangelical churches, for they have done most for the Levant during the past one hundred years. They have been untiring in their philanthropy, before and since the Great War. They have been lavish in the expenditure of money, time, and effort. Their educational institutions have elicited the admiration of the world and have helped to create a new Near East. These labors more abundant, together with an apostolic passion to preach the Gospel, have already helped the cause of religion, especially by kindling evangelistic zeal even within the ancient churches of the East.

Recent years have introduced into the question of reunion a factor which was not present at Florence or Bonn, namely, the immigrant. The approach to the East has taken a new aspect, in that now the East has in this way come itself to the very doors of the West, and Western Christendom finds itself compelled to minister to these people. The approach to these newcomers is a matter of special importance, not only because of the possible

⁷ *Reply of the Missionaries*, 15-16.

effect upon the immigrants themselves, but also because of the constant stream of influence going out through these to the lands of their origin, affecting both the religion and the social outlook of those parts.

The two million Eastern Christians in the United States, chiefly Russians and Greeks,⁸ have suffered from internal factions and from dissensions due to political and other causes having their origin abroad. But in spite of such hindrances they have done what they could to provide a clergy for the people, and to secure the ministrations of religion and instruction in the faith and practice of their church. Some experiment has been made with Sunday schools. Publishing houses have to some extent attempted to provide religious literature, and there has even been an effort to make these churches indigenous by the occasional use of the Liturgy in English.⁹ But much more needs to be done. The Eastern churches in the West are slow in adapting themselves to American traditions and ways. The use of a language other than English, long and tedious services, lack of adequate seating accommodation, avoidance of instrumental music, make these churches appear singular and eccentric in Western surroundings, and their hold on the younger generation is decreasing.

But adequate supervision in every instance by their own

⁸ The statistics for 1935 are given in *The Christian Herald* (N.Y. July, 1936). It is estimated that the Eastern population is considerably larger than these indicate.

	<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Churches</i>	<i>Members</i>
African Orthodox	44	18	5,000
African Orthodox of N. Y.	3	717
Eastern, Separated bodies	32	54	107,675
Orthodox Eastern, 9 bodies	725	762	998,087

⁹ Probably the first instance of this was at a chapel of the Russian Cathedral in New York. See article in *Literary Digest*, (New York, August 7, 1920). The experiment seems to have been persisted in here and there. Many have shared this ideal, one of the foremost being Bishop Joachim Alexopoulos of the Greek Diocese of Boston, Mass., until 1932, and, long resident in the U. S., but now (1937) of the Diocese of Volo in Greece. In his essay, *The Ecclesiastical Reorganization of Hellenism in America* (a Greek work, New York, 1919), he suggests as part of the program there advocated the acceptance of the aim to "bring about in time a compact and strong English-speaking Orthodox Church." (p. 9). He has also for years strongly advocated and been a pioneer in organizing Sunday school work among his people.

clergy and teachers is impossible, because of the vastness of the country and the widely scattered Eastern populations. A partial remedy lies in the good will of the Episcopal church, and in its offers, with the approval of Eastern authorities, of sacramental ministrations. But even so, it is not always possible for Episcopal ministrations to be obtained. For one reason or another work among Eastern people has come to be undertaken by non-Episcopalians. And these, however well intentioned, have often been unacquainted with the Eastern type of Christianity, or out of sympathy with it. Consequently, their unwise or misguided efforts have at times led to schism and the formation of Protestant groups; or else, indifference to historic ceremonial and to the proper impressiveness of worship has helped to produce or encourage in these groups an undervaluing of their peculiar Eastern heritage.

Thus by a strange turn of events the situation of a hundred years ago is reproduced, and Evangelicals and Orientals are in contact once more. The former feel a sense of responsibility to the newcomers, and to forbid Evangelical activities here is out of the question. But the Evangelical churches can at least be urged both to seek to understand the point of view of these strangers, and to realize that by the application of the New Testament rule of becoming all things to all men that by all means some may be saved, in such matters as liturgy, festivals, and the externals of worship, accommodation is possible without sacrifice of Evangelical principle. It is moreover desirable that in such Evangelical work the cooperation of Eastern authorities should be sought, and judging from similar agreements between these two groups in parts of the mission field it would probably be available, provided it is evident that the aim of the Protestants is sincere and that the work is being undertaken by only such clergy or laity as are in intelligent sympathy with the spirit and ideals of historic Christianity.

To guard against a repetition of past errors with their calamitous consequences, and to meet the need of today, attention

should be urgently directed to the careful study of Eastern Christianity, to the training of leaders, and the producing of adequate literature.

It is particularly incumbent on Protestants, who are the prime movers in the effort to bring scattered Christendom into one on the basis of mutual respect and appreciation, to insist on proper study on the part of its leaders of the history and characteristics of the Eastern church, and especially of those aspects which are generally misunderstood but which nevertheless link her with the Evangelical tradition. What for instance is meant by that "Orthodoxy"¹⁰ of which she makes her boast and insists that others should accept?¹¹ How is to be interpreted that exclusiveness which she maintains and of which other churches are perhaps unpleasantly aware? And above all, what is the precise significance, and what the implications, of the principle of *economy* of which much is being heard at this time; a principle so fruitful in possibilities, even perhaps to the extent of recognizing non-Episcopal orders as some think, and which enables one of her leading theologians¹² to make the startling pronouncement that "the

10 For a discussion of "Orthodoxy" in this technical sense see F. Gavin, *Greek Orthodox Thought*, Preface.

11 Particularly since the Bonn Conferences, however, Easterns have been wont to insist on certain views as essential, though not maintained by the Councils, by stating that they are upheld by "tradition." See, e. g., *Declaration of the Orthodox Delegation at Lausanne, 1927*. (Report, 382 ff.)

Protestants have often supposed that the appeal to antiquity means that patristic writings are necessarily of authority in matters of faith. Here lay the mistake of Jonas King. He gave much time and thought in connection with his "Apology" (see *ante*, 76n.), to the preparation of testimony from the writings of the Greek Fathers in support of positions maintained by the Protestant Boards, whereas the appeal should have been to the Councils. Cf. also G. Williams, *The Orthodox and the Non-Jurors*, p. 15; the utterances of Khomyakov in Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, *passim*; J. A. Douglas, *Relations of the Anglican Churches and the Eastern Orthodox*, 56.

12 K. I. Dyovouniotis, *The Sacraments of the Eastern Orthodox Church, from a Dogmatic Point of View* (1912), 162-3. On p. 162 he writes: "This most important subject of ecclesiastical economy has never been examined and set forth among us in detail and authoritatively. The economical acceptance of the sacraments of heretics may be accounted for in two ways: either that the sacraments of those who come from schisms and heresies are revived because of their approach to the

Church, as the steward of the grace of God, has power, according to Economy, to recognize the orders and the Sacraments of schismatics and heretics."

The task of restoring fellowship with the East requires not only good will but also special preparation for those who would engage in it. It follows naturally that theological seminaries and colleges in the United States and Canada, numerous as they are and influential, could well exert themselves to this end, providing where necessary the needed training, or in any case an intelligent acquaintance with the problem. In particular those who would work effectively in this connection need above all to be theologically minded, and whether of themselves or by the aid of theological institutions, must acquire thorough training in such subjects as the following: i. The sources of the Christian faith; meaning particularly the language and contents of the New Testament, the study of the Fathers, and the acts and canons of the Councils. ii. The dogmatic position of the East. iii. Liturgies. iv. The history of the Eastern churches, which involves detailed study of ancient church history. That discussions preliminary to re-union will continue over a long period may be taken for granted. But in the meanwhile and without loss of time, the churches eager to further the work of reconciliation may well begin with the schools of the prophets.

Comparatively little has so far been written for English readers on the subject of the Eastern churches. Some substantial

church; or that the church, as steward of grace and dispenser of the sacraments has the power to transform the validity of the sacraments, constituting valid those that are not valid, and those that are valid as not valid. The former of these opinions prevails in the Western (Latin) Church which makes in the sacraments a distinction between character and grace and which accepts the impress of the character through the canonical celebration of the sacraments even among schismatics and heretics. But this opinion of the Western Church cannot be accepted, since it is opposed to the practice of the Church which considers not valid many of the sacraments of heretics, and also, according to circumstances, the same sacraments as valid or as not valid. Such practice on the part of the Church only the second opinion can explain, which for that reason ought to be received." The same, "Principle of Economy" in *Church Quarterly Review* (London, April, 1933). On Economy see also Gavin, *op. cit.*, 262-267, 292-303.

books have appeared from Anglo-Catholic and Roman Catholic sources, representing these points of view, but there is need for much more. It is important also that Protestant scholars should be enlisted in this enterprise. To this end theological institutions of all denominations, as also the several Societies having as their aim the promotion of Christian unity, should be urged to provide encouragement and facilities for special research in this direction, and graduate and professional schools, which are often called upon to suggest subjects for dissertations, may find here a fruitful field, and one possessing the advantage that research therein may be of real and immediate service to the Christian church.

There remains the question of the attitude of the respective churches toward converts from Orthodoxy to Protestantism. Such cases will probably occur in every age, whether because of the attraction some find in simple Evangelical worship, or the testimony of others, or the individual interpretation of the Scriptures or some distinctive theological outlook. To meet this situation history suggests that the Protestant churches should declare themselves definitely against schism, warn the unsettled against too rash a change in ecclesiastical allegiance, and seek to persuade the Evangelically minded to stay in the parent church and co-operate with the reforming groups already there. But this will not always succeed, because some will insist on "coming out and being separate," believing that this course is demanded by consistency with Evangelical principles. In such a case it seems clear that the above-named churches must themselves be governed by loyalty both to the theological position which they themselves profess, and to these Eastern brethren whose newer Evangelical faith is in most cases the response to the proclamation of those very principles which Protestantism holds vital. They should be watchful lest, through speech or silence, they obscure the witness of Protestantism, or create the impression that they repudiate it or else treat it as immaterial. Nor can they, in good conscience, dishonor the memory of missionaries whom they sent out in time past and whom they profess to revere, by suggesting through

uncertainty or lukewarmness that they disown the Evangelical work which those missionaries were commissioned to do.

As regards the converts, it is unthinkable that Protestant churches of the West should be forgetful of them, or indifferent to their struggles, or because of the desirability of restored fellowship with Eastern Orthodoxy should exhibit lukewarmness toward them. Rather must a spiritual home be found for the Eastern Evangelicals if they are without one. At least, until such time as their own parent church can make provision for them, or until they can themselves, with a good conscience, return to the church from which they have come out. And not only must a home be found wherein their spiritual life can be nurtured, but also a shelter must be provided for them from the perils to which they are exposed—and not in the East alone—arising from the subtleties and extravagances of new sects, which are far removed from the Gospel of Christ. But if Anglo-American Protestant Christianity does neglect to provide a spiritual home for its brethren of the same faith, a shelter from vain fables and doctrines of men, and a defence against compulsory resubjection to a type of religion which may do violence to the Evangelical conscience, then that Christianity owes it to the world to declare explicitly what it is that it stands for, and whether it does believe or not in Evangelical religion.

The Eastern churches, on the other hand, troubled because bereaved of their children, are apt to take hasty and mistaken views of the spirit and aim of those of their number who become Protestant, and to attribute the conversions to unworthy motives or spiritual pride. On the contrary it ought to be recognized by all Christians that the forms through which Eastern religion normally expresses itself and which multitudes find of deep significance and spiritual help, to certain minds otherwise constituted are unnatural and to that extent fail to bring the worshipper to God. It is true that certain beliefs specially valued in the East, and characteristic customs and forms of worship, can be evangelically explained, and are as a matter of fact so received by

not a few of the cultured who profess the Orthodox faith. But the methods of explanation and mental reserve are to certain types of mind repellent and seem an unworthy subterfuge. It is this search for reality that may lead some to reject the traditional ornate worship of the East for the simplicity of Evangelical devotions, and to accept the Protestant form of the Christian faith.

Or again the change may be but an effort to attain, though by a different path, to those Evangelical qualities in religion which are characteristic of the Orthodox church herself. For the main interest in her teaching, symbolism, and worship is that the essential truths of the Gospel should be thereby proclaimed. Even as the Ecumenical Councils to which she makes her appeal sought, through their doctrinal decisions, nothing other than the preservation of the message of the Gospel.

May not the hope therefore be entertained that the time will come when, provided guarantees are given that the said values are being maintained, freedom will be conceded in the matter of forms and of theological and devotional expression? And that thus the Evangelically-inclined children of the East, instead of breaking away, will find it possible to remain in communion with her? Will she rise to the occasion, and by means of concessions make room within her fold for the Eastern Protestants who are now to be found in America or in the lands of their origin even as Rome, wise in her generation, has done with the Uniats?

In bringing this discussion to a close, it may be said that the study of the approach to the East as considered in these pages, confirms the conclusion that each of the great churches here dealt with has a distinctive work to do. The conservatism of the East helps to preserve the historic faith against tendencies to dispense with it or to dilute it. The religious experience and passion of the Evangelicals insure the adequate propagation of that historic faith. The inclusiveness of Anglicanism anticipates the time when all believers will be restored to the fellowship of the one Christian family. It may be objected that this is only a hope and a dream. But blessed are the people who can see visions and

dream dreams, whether at Malines or Stockholm, Geneva or Lausanne. The spiritual powers of these are quickened, and they are able to "see the land that is very far off," the time when the schisms and distractions of Christendom will cease, and there will be revealed instead a "glorious Church, having no spot or wrinkle or any such thing." That greater and final unity will be brought nearer as a result of that restoration of fellowship between the English-speaking churches of the West and the churches of the East, for which the way has been prepared by the consecrated labors of former generations, and when that restoration comes to pass, it will be found that in its coming the churches of America have played a significant and not inglorious part.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE REV. JOHN J. ROBERTSON

Taken from the *Missionary Paper of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, I, No. 6. (March, 1830, Early Papers, 53-63.)

The duty of commencing a mission to Greece arises from the general obligation of the members of Christ, individually and collectively, to exert themselves for the extension of pure and unadulterated religion in proportion as their means and opportunities allow. The Greek Church has her beauty marred, and her purity sullied, by a variety of superstitions, and a mass of ignorance, which have been collecting through long ages of darkness and degradation. Various circumstances concur to prove that the present is a propitious season to introduce light within her inclosures, and thus endeavouring to bring about an internal reformation without drawing away her members, or breaking in upon her ecclesiastical polity. Individuals have had their hearts inclined by divine grace to engage in this work, and offer themselves to the Society for the purpose of being employed. No one will venture to affirm that there is not sufficient wealth in the church, (independently of that which should be employed for domestic purposes,) for the support of this mission, together with a press and all other suitable appendages. In fact evidence is daily accumulating to show that Episcopalians are ready to devise liberal things in regard to this noble object.

But if it be our duty in general to diffuse truth where error prevails, according to our ability and opportunity, it is especially so in regard to the decayed Church of Greece. Corrupt and encumbered with superstitions as she may be, she is still a sister church, in her outward polity resting on the same scriptural and apostolic foundation with ourselves. As a visible portion of the household of faith, we are bound, therefore, to sympathise with her spiritual infirmities, and, as far as in us lies, to extend to her the hand of relief.

The single fact that the Greek Church is an Episcopal Church is deserving of special attention. If, in the providence of God, and through his grace resting on the efforts of missionaries, an internal reformation, to any considerable extent, shall be effected, there is every reason to believe that a close and cordial union will take place with the churches of England and America. In such

case a broad and strong phalanx of Protestant Episcopalians would be presented in face of the corrupt and corrupting Church of Rome.

And that such hopes are not visionary, we have only to recall to mind the facilities which missionaries at present enjoy, and for some time past have enjoyed, in Greece. By the great mass of the people, both lay and clerical, they are received with marks of affection and regard. The clergy generally co-operate with them in circulating the scriptures. The common people look to them with anxiety and thankfulness for the means of light. Those of higher station often express their confidence that missionaries will be instrumental in enlightening the nation, and in various ways manifest their good will. By the establishment and direction of schools they are securing a large weight of influence with the rising generation. In a variety of modes they may freely preach the gospel, though without the formality of a set time, text, and method. In conversation they enjoy great latitude of discussion, and meet with a general readiness to defer to the authoritative statements of scripture. Although they do not deem it advisable, at the present, to avail themselves of opportunities of preaching in churches, yet those who, like Mr. Hartley, have employed this mode of doing good, are spoken of with great respect.

But besides the facilities afforded to missionaries we may refer to the frequent expressions of both clergy and laity that a reformation to some extent, is both desirable and probable. Only let American missionaries go abroad among us, (said two of the members of the National Congress at Argos, to Mr. King and myself,) with their scriptures, tracts and conversations, and the state of the people will soon be improved. This they declared to be the avowed sentiment of a number of the other members with whom they held daily intercourse. I have heard a bishop, an abbot, at the head of a monastery, and other individuals declare that they were opposed to all restrictions upon the marriage of the clergy, and to some other abuses, and would enter their protest against them whenever a suitable opportunity should occur. The principal clergymen of the Islands, and some others in other places, have expressed to me their hope that the time would come when pictures would no longer be used in the churches, and when their mode of worship would be simplified. A reduction has already begun to take place in the number of religious festivals, which have hitherto been very burdensome to the people, and the sources of many evils, and a further reduction is contemplated.

It must not, however, be concealed, that symptoms of jealousy have been observed among some of the higher clergy in regard to the ultimate object of missionaries. These, however, are generally men of ambitious minds, looking forward to station and influence, and more anxious probably for their own advancement, than the improvement of the people. Yet, while missionaries conduct themselves with due prudence, they have little to apprehend from opposition from this quarter. Direct hostility on their part to our present plans, would, probably tend to their own injury. The bishop of Syra for a long time held himself aloof from Dr. Korck, and gave no countenance, though he exerted no opposition to his efforts. He was, at length, however, drawn in, through

popular influence, to give them a public sanction, and to approve the circulation of tracts among the pupils. A priest had been sent previously to this, from another quarter, to preach against the school. This he did in violent terms, but the only result was to establish Dr. Korck still more securely in the affections and confidence of the people, and to induce the governor to banish the priest from the Island.

Dr. Korck's travelling agent for the sale of scriptures and tracts, was on one occasion reproved by a bishop in the Morea, for circulating books at variance with the tenets of his church. The agent immediately presented to him a copy of each, and begged him to examine them, and point out the errors. Upon receiving them again only a single passage was found animadverted upon. It was an expression referring to justification by faith only. The bishop had written in the margin,—“Faith without works is dead, and works without faith are dead.”

Another encouraging circumstance is, that the influence of the monastic orders is decreasing, and the monks becoming subject to censure and contempt for their unprofitable and sometimes licentious lives. An abbot himself informed me, that they were the least virtuous members of the ecclesiastical body. I have heard many statements from laity of different ranks, that they were at the best mere drones, and that they often perpetrated great enormities. A proposition was brought before the last Congress at Argos to appropriate the monastic funds, and devote them to purposes of education. One of the committee appointed to confer with the president on the subject, informed me, that they unanimously recommended the appropriation of the whole; but that the president deemed it prudent to proceed more cautiously, and that accordingly a portion only was taken. One great means of destroying monastic influence has been the attacks upon monks in the various writings of the celebrated Coray, who died about a year since in Paris. The reverence in which he is held among his countrymen, as a warm patriot, an enlightened philosopher, and a man of deep research and extensive acquirements, gives great weight to his sentiments, which are generally calculated for the improvement of his nation.

But while encouragements exist for missionary efforts generally, it is especially the case in regard to Americans. The name of American is in all directions a passport to kindness and attention. Dr. Korck states that Americans will undoubtedly possess more influence than benevolent agents from other nations, and that he attributes no small portion of the public favour which he himself has secured, to the fact that he has generally been mistaken for an American. An exalted estimate, indeed, generally exists among the Greeks in regard to our character and institutions. They look to our political constitution, which has been translated and circulated among them as a model. They call upon missionaries for information, even upon points of law. I have been present when persons of intelligence have visited Mr. King, to ascertain the opinions and usages in America on such subjects. After hearing him translate a few pages from Chancellor Kent's Commentaries, they would take their leave, expressing high gratification. All these circum-

stances tend to give American missionaries greater influence than those of other countries.

Qualifications of a Missionary to Greece.

Upon the character and qualifications of a missionary to Greece a few remarks will be here in place. It is hardly necessary to observe that, above all other things, he should be a man of sincere, warm, active, and enlightened piety. Unless he preaches by the influential example of a holy and consistent life, his other efforts will produce little effect. The Greeks are naturally shrewd and sensible, and, while they will respect evident seriousness and sincerity, they will soon look with contempt upon levity and inconsistency.

To sincere piety should be added respectability of talent. An individual decidedly inferior in this respect would hardly secure sufficient general influence to be useful.

Above all other knowledge that of the scriptures should adorn the mind, while it influences the life, of the missionary. A constant reference to the inspired oracles in all discussions will prove one of the most efficacious means of maintaining truth, and converting error. The missionary should, therefore, be well furnished from this celestial armoury, that he may have weapons always at hand to wield in every time of need.

Next to scripture knowledge that of the fathers is desirable, especially in reference to intercourse with the higher clergy. It will, therefore, be important that the missionary possess and study the principal early ecclesiastical writers, particularly those in the Greek language.

With the better informed of the laity, and also with the clergy, a good knowledge of ancient Greek, and an acquaintance with classic authors, will increase a missionary's respectability and influence. It will also prove a means of acquiring more readily and accurately the modern language.

But whatever other qualifications a missionary may possess, he will not only be unable to effect much good, but will probably do much harm, unless he be endowed with prudence and common sense. A blind zeal, that pays little regard to circumstances, would prove more dangerous here than on ground absolutely heathen. The imprudence of one individual might seriously interfere with the usefulness of others engaged in the same cause. No better maxim can be adopted by a missionary in this respect than a few words written in my Album, by Abraham, a Greek, who was with Mr. Gridley in his journeyings, and at his death, and who is very friendly to our efforts.

"Μηδεν αγαν, καιρω παντα προσετι, Σπευδε βραδευς" "nothing in excess; all things will succeed in time; make haste slowly."

The only other point to which I need allude, as connected with missionary qualifications, is health. Estimates in regard to this, by Mr. Jowett and some others, have been, I think, too high. Undoubtedly it is desirable that a missionary possess as well a sound constitution and freedom from actual disease, as an ability to en-

dures fatigue, exposure, and privations. Yet an adaptation of constitution to the climate seems to be the most important consideration. Persons of the most vigorous frames and unvarying health often fall a speedy sacrifice to the peculiarities of an uncongenial climate, while others of delicate habits, changing an unpropitious native atmosphere for the skies of a foreign land, daily experience a renewal of their energies and vigour. I recollect meeting, some years since, with a missionary in England, who had just returned from the East Indies. His health and activity had given way to the enervating influence of a tropical sun. He was shortly after sent to a northern region, where his strength, and with it his usefulness, was speedily restored. Mr. Jowett himself is a man of feeble constitution, and has twice been compelled to revisit his native land to recruit his debilitated frame. Yet who is not aware of the devotedness and energy which he has manifested in his work, and of the extent and value of his various operations? Dr. Korck also, for some time after his arrival in the Mediterranean, gave alarm to the friends of missions by his apparent inability to maintain health amid his cares, labours, and exposures, but he has gradually acquired new vigour, and, when I left him, was entirely free from all discouraging symptoms. And, in my own case, through the kindness of a merciful Providence, health and strength have been greatly increased, and I have been enabled to bear up under privations and fatigues, where others of much superior force of constitution have sunk exhausted.

Means of Missionary Usefulness. Distribution of the Scriptures.

The first and great object at which a missionary ought to aim, is the distribution of the living oracles of God, until they find a place, if possible, in every family, church and school. To a people so strongly inclined, as are the Greeks, to refer to the authoritative statements of the word of God, this is of peculiar importance. Even upon the realization of the worst apprehensions that can be framed in regard to the mission, its entire suppression by some act of a future jealous and illiberal government, the extensive circulation of the scriptures among all classes will prove, not only a strong bulwark against further inroads of error and superstition, but a powerful means of diffusing pure light and truth, and of dispelling the existing mists of delusion. Even now individuals in various places are gradually undergoing a change of views in regard to many long-established prejudices. Both clergy and laity seem, in some degree, to feel the influence of what has already been done. In the least hopeful of all places, monasteries, the inspired word is listened to, and received with the utmost veneration, and perhaps even here, under the providence, and by the grace of God, new Luthers may now be training for the reformation of their church. The work of circulating the scriptures I consider of such importance, that no other should be engaged in which would be likely to impede its progress. And in this work we have much to encourage us to faithfulness and diligence. Already the eagerness to obtain the divine word is almost without a parallel in any other region. Priests and people equally seek it. The government has authorized its introduction into the Model school of 500 boys

at Ægina. Other government schools at Argos, Tripolizza, &c. I have in part supplied with New Testaments, and they were received with gladness and gratitude. By the schools already in existence, and those daily establishing, the number of readers is continually multiplied, and the demand for scriptures increased. Indeed, such is the hunger for this bread of eternal life, that I sometimes felt it almost a cruelty to circulate the Homily of our church on reading the scriptures, though it is one of the most acceptable to the people. It seemed somewhat like going among their starving poor with stimulants to excite appetite, when I had not the means of satisfying the existing craving for food. Let but one or two facts be kept in remembrance, and the facilities for this department of missionary effort will be evident. In the short space of 16 months residence in Syra, Dr. Korck has been able to circulate more than 7000 copies of Psalters and Testaments, the greater part of which were sold. While Mr. Barker, the Smyrna agent of the B. and F. Bible Society was at Ægina, he was surrounded, morning, noon and night, with a throng of priests, monks, schoolmasters, and pupils, &c. all anxious to get the word of eternal life. Nor is this blessed book merely received, and then laid by in neglect. A thousand examples might be furnished of their readiness to read it or listen to its contents, but only one or two can be introduced into this abridged report. I was in the habit, when occupied myself, of giving my servant a New Testament to read to any little assemblage who happened to be present. They would always listen with great interest and attention as long as the exercise was continued, and I have known as many as ten chapters to be read in succession without producing weariness. I scarcely ever laid down a copy of the scriptures, where persons able to read were present, without some one taking it up and reading it to the others for a considerable time. In some cases priests have begun the regular use of it in the churches, in a tongue which the people can understand. Thus we may make even a domestic act, in some sort, as a missionary, and we may lead their own clergy to a more beneficial discharge of their ministerial duties. I will close this head with one more fact. A poor blind man presented himself to Mr. Barker, bringing respectable recommendations of good character, and stating that he had lost his sight at the siege of Athens. His object was to obtain a Testament. "Why, my poor old man," said Mr. B., "of what possible use can a Testament be to you? You cannot read it." "I can get some one to read it to me," was the reply. Mr. B. hesitated for some time, as it was quite contrary to his fixed rule of distribution, but the earnestness of the mutilated old soldier overcame him. A day or two after, on his way to my lodgings, he observed the same old man sitting in the shade of a wall, and listening intently, while a boy read to him from his newly acquired treasure.

Schools

Another most valuable means of missionary usefulness in Greece will be the establishment of schools. The existing government has exhibited a very liberal and enlightened policy in regard to education, and has exerted itself, according to its feeble means,

for the improvement of the old schools, and the establishment of new ones. The islands are in a much better condition in regard to the means of instruction than the continent. A commission was appointed in 1828 to visit the islands, to investigate the state of education. Cleobulus, the valuable director of the orphan school at Ægina, was at the head of it. The report bore for a motto the words of Puffendorf, "*Tenebris, ut opprimat tyrannus, luminibus, ut regat, pater.*"

The school at Syra, established originally by Mr. Brewer, and now under the direction of Dr. Korck, contains 330 children, of whom 130 are girls. It is delightful to witness the good order which reigns in it, and the improvement which the children make. The only other missionary school at present is in the island of Tenos, established by Mr. King. I was present at its opening. The first day there were 14 pupils, the second 28, and the third, (on which I left the island,) upwards of 30; all were females, and one a married woman. Before I sailed from Syra a new school house, for girls, which will accommodate 500, was nearly finished.

Female education has been very generally neglected in Greece, partly from deficiency of means, and partly from a prejudice derived from their Turkish oppressors. At present the prejudice is everywhere rapidly declining, and we may hope to see another generation grow up much better qualified for the duties of wives and mothers than those who are now passing off the stage of life.

Two reasons especially render it highly important that missionaries should get as many schools as possible under their direction.

In the first place it will give them a weighty influence in future over the rising generation. The pupils, when they go forth into the active scenes of life, will look back upon the missionaries as their friends and benefactors. They will feel gratitude for the advantages derived from their exertions, and will often be inclined to lend a more willing ear, than would otherwise be the case, to the voice of spiritual instruction, as well as be better disposed to render them aid in their plans of doing good.

But, in the second place, we need not look merely to the future for opportunities of giving pious counsel. Schools afford the best possible opportunities for preaching the gospel. Here the missionary without suspicion, may freely, fully and frequently, impress upon the youthful mind and tender conscience the solemn truths of christianity. Here he may teach the depravity of man's nature, the exceeding sinfulness of sin, the fatal consequences to which it leads, the value of Christ's atoning blood, the efficacy of the spirit's influences, the necessity of faith and repentance, and a change of heart and life, and thus sow the good seed of the word in ground where it is least likely to be choked by the tares of long indulged passions and prejudices. I need not, surely, descant upon the superior value of religious instruction to the young. Is it not now beginning to be every where recognized among us by the establishment of Sunday schools and other similar efforts? This, we cannot doubt, is, under God, destined to be one of the most effectual means of increasing the energy as well as the extent of the christian church.

But missionary schools will be valuable even if it were only in a negative way. In most of the schools which have hitherto existed the books contain much that is superstitious. These of course are wholly banished from the schools under our direction. Nothing is admitted which is not perfectly accordant with the revealed will of God.

Above all, how important is it that females should at an early age be brought under a proper system of intellectual, moral, and religious culture! As mothers they will hereafter exert a vast influence, and, if properly enlightened, that influence may be more effectual in the banishment of error and superstition than almost any other means.

It is not, however, upon the children only that the religious lessons given in the schools are calculated to have a beneficial effect. The interest excited by these explanations and addresses is such that the parents, and sometimes even priests, come to hear. This is often the case in Dr. Korck's school at Syra. Three or four times a week he thus in fact preaches the gospel, and has opportunities of addressing a word in season to his auditors of more advanced years.

It is impossible to say how much good may result from one single branch of instruction; I mean the explanation and enforcement of the ten commandments. There is great general ignorance in regard to these. I have had a priest answer to the question, How many commandments are there? 'Seven.' Ten indeed are given in their books, but they differ very materially from those given by God to Moses.

As to our securing pupils for our schools there will be no difficulty. The thirst for knowledge in every direction is almost unparalleled. Schools are often established before the people have around them the commonest necessities of life, and where there are scarcely any books or other means of instruction. Some are taught in the open air; some under temporary arbours; and I have seen one at the seat of government, in the upper part of a wind-mill. The government would be glad to have as much of the instruction in its own hands as possible, as a means of strengthening its influence, by showing itself friendly to the improvement of the people. Its resources are, however, limited, and the establishment of independent schools to any extent will meet with no interference.

In due season missionaries may hope to be instrumental in getting into vogue a general system of Sunday school instruction. This is now wholly unknown except in Dr. Korck's school. He spends about two hours, on the morning of the Lord's day, in teaching the children divine truth, and it is a most gratifying spectacle to see them neat and clean, in their best attire, flocking around him with utmost confidence and affection.

Another use of schools is, that they give occasion to frequent visits to the parents, and thus lead the way to edifying conversations.

Schools moreover furnish instructors for other similar institutions and it is of great consequence that they who teach should

themselves have received a proper training. Dr. Korck has already sent forth two young teachers to other islands, who are imitating him in giving instruction from the scriptures.

The day may come, when, by gradually raising the standard of study in one of the principal schools, we may bring it to bear upon the learned professions, and especially upon what is now a very unlearned one, the clerical. Short lectures may be introduced upon the evidences of christianity, and other important subjects, which, while they teach, by stating the true laws of evidence, the distinctions between miracles and the lying wonders of men, may also afford opportunity of making forcible appeals to the hearts and consciences of the hearers. Hebrew might moreover be eventually introduced, and some of the younger clergy be thus led to more sound and thorough modes of investigation and criticism.

The missionary, himself maintaining a general superintendence over the schools, and attending to the moral and religious instructions, may give up the business of general teaching to a properly selected person under his control. This leaves his own hands and time in a degree unshackled for various other important operations. A suitable schoolmaster will require about 300 dollars per annum, and if the school be taught on the Lancasterian plan, it might contain two or three hundred pupils. For a female teacher a smaller sum would suffice, but it will be difficult to procure properly qualified ones for some time to come. In a short period, however, we may hope, with the divine blessing, to be able to select from the existing schools, young females sufficiently instructed to impart the elements of education to others of their own sex.

A Press

To give due efficiency to missionary operations in Greece, and, with the divine blessing, to render them successful, scarcely anything can be named of equal importance with the establishment of a press. To this the missionaries already in the country are continually looking forward with the utmost anxiety. Dr. Korck and Mr. King are both fully persuaded of the advantages which would result from it, and of the impossibility that the presses in Malta, eminently useful as they are, can supply the defect. The intercourse between Malta and Greece is infrequent, indirect, and uncertain. Almost every thing has to be forwarded through the Ionian Islands or Smyrna, a circumstance which creates great delay. Letters from the United States, by way of Malta, in more than one instance, never reached me, though I had intelligence of their having been forwarded from the latter place. The scriptures and tracts which I ordered from the depot there, to be sent to meet me at Syra, had not yet arrived when I left that island in September, though they had been duly forwarded, so that I was compelled to draw upon the stock of Dr. Korck. This difficulty of easy intercourse is often a serious obstacle to our movements. We need a short publication to meet some sudden exigency, but, ere our wishes can be attended to, the season of usefulness has passed. But independently of cases like this, which have already actually occurred, an exact adaptation of what is published to the peculiar circumstances of the times and character of the people,

can be best accomplished by individuals on the spot, and in daily habits of intercourse with all classes of the population. Mistakes as to the nature of the publication, and errors of style or false translations, can be more easily obviated and detected than if the press were at a distance. I have no desire to pass censure upon the presses of our British and American brethren in Malta. They have proved, and I doubt not will continue to prove, most valuable auxiliaries to missionaries in Greece, as well as to those in other parts of the East. They are conducted with great judgment, and have effected great good. But still they cannot annihilate time and space, and work impossibilities.

One especial use of a press in Greece will be to publish school books of a religious character. Elementary books for the purposes of education, containing sound scriptural instruction, and free from those superstitious passages which mar the pages of some now in use, are much needed. The presses at Malta have already published one of great utility, and will probably issue others; but a variety is needed for different ages and studies. Dr. Korck has one or two in course of preparation which he is anxious to have printed as early as possible. How desirable is it that the infant mind should derive its lessons from books which, without controversy, never suggest the idea of more than one Mediator, which contain no addresses to the Virgin Mary and saints, which give no directions to bow and sign the cross before the sacred pictures, which set forth the decalogue as it was written by the finger of God himself?

A press will be also highly useful for the publication of tracts on the great principles of the gospel, and occasionally, small religious biographies and other pious narratives for general circulation. The avidity with which such publications are received and read, and especially those of the latter description, I have often witnessed. The late excellent Legh Richmond, though dead, yet speaketh to the poor Greeks, and his words, I doubt not, often produce a serious impression.

A class of publications of higher order will be works on the evidences of christianity, and small introductions to different branches of scriptural study, more especially intended for the clergy. No better means could probably be adopted to undermine the whole system of false miracles and lying wonders than clear and forcible inculcation of the true laws of evidence. Bishop Porteus' Evidences, which the liberality of a member of the Executive Committee enabled me to have printed at the American press at Malta, met with a most welcome reception. The chapter on Mohametanism, which would render its distribution unsafe in the Turkish dominions, added much to its acceptability in Greece. A most useful tract for the clergy, and indeed for all who can read, would be selections from the Fathers, to show the distinction which they themselves make between their own writings and the inspired volume of revelation, the deference which they pay to its divine statements, and their reference to it as the foundation of faith, the infallible arbitrator in all matters of controversy.

I will mention but one other mode in which a press may be advantageously employed. It is in the publication of a small re-

ligious newspaper. A properly conducted paper, consisting of a half-sheet, 4to, or 8vo form, and issued once a fortnight, would, I have no doubt, be received with great interest. It would be a sort of standing though variable tract, and its regular periods of recurrence would cause it to be looked for with expectation, and increase its effect. But few subscribers could at present be obtained, but still something might be secured in this way, and curiosity united with benevolence, might induce some individuals in England, France, Germany, and the United States, to give it their patronage. To the Greeks generally it must be sent, at least till money becomes more abundant in the country, without charge. I would have a copy especially sent to each monastery. Among the 200 monks of Megaspelia a few copies would be gladly received, and diligently read.

Materials for rendering a Greek religious newspaper both attractive and edifying are abundant. Its principal features should be short practical expositions of scripture, extracts from the history of the church, passages from the Greek fathers, accounts of missions among the heathens, Bible societies, Sunday schools, &c. showing, in some degree, what Protestants are by what they are doing for the benefit of the world, and biographical sketches and anecdotes of eminently pious men. By these means much may be done, without controversy, to undermine error and establish truth. Missionary intelligence from heathen stations would have an excellent tendency to open the eyes to the folly of all superstitious worship.

The freedom of the press in Greece is guaranteed by the constitution of the country. The government, indeed, could have no disposition to interfere with a press which systematically avoided political topics. I have conversed on the subject with many persons of intelligence and influence, and they seemed much gratified with the idea that such an establishment might possibly be introduced among them, and assured me that there could be no grounds for an interference with its operations.

The sale of our publications would, probably, for the present, do little more than pay the expense of agency. But as agriculture and commerce shall revive, and the country become more prosperous, the sale will undoubtedly increase, and we may hope, hereafter, to lessen in this way the expenses of the establishment. The increasing number of missionaries in the east may also bring occasional orders for our publications, and thus prove an additional aid.

Preaching

In regard to the exercise of the ministry by the regular and formal delivery of sermons, especially in churches, a missionary in Greece will probably deem it prudent to use extreme caution. Mr. Hartley, it is true, thus preached the gospel to large audiences, and received the thanks of his hearers, even of bishops and officers of government. To this day many speak in high terms of his discourses. The present state of things, however, seems to indicate that the same course for the future would give rise to suspicions that we are desirous to injure the integrity of the Greek church.

This suspicion would probably be entertained by only a few persons, but these are ecclesiastics of high station, and we know not how far they may hereafter be able to exert a hostile influence, or organize an opposition to our measures. While we have so many and important means of usefulness, we are desirous of not engaging in any thing which may hereafter place an impediment in our way.

But without the formalities of a set time, text and place, we may preach as much as we please. And this is probably more nearly the mode in which the Apostles themselves preached. Wherever a few people are assembled together, we may address them upon the great concerns of the soul and of eternity. In schools we have free scope for this most desirable and valuable exercise of our ministry. But it should be a missionary's especial and earnest effort to acquire the habit of preaching in conversation. The Greeks are fond of discussion, and they will listen with seriousness and attention while the weighty matters of religion are pressed upon their consideration. I have seen them much affected by personal addresses to their heart and conscience, and offence is far more rare with them than ourselves upon close applications of scripture truth. I have urged upon priests the awful responsibilities of their office, and have inquired what answer they would be prepared to give before the judgment seat of Christ, for neglecting the command—"preach the word,"—without exciting the least ill will towards me.

In regard to this subject of missionary preaching, I would here insert a few corroborative remarks, from the instructions of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to Mr. Jowett, a few months since, when he was on the eve of returning to the Mediterranean.

"There is one means of propagating christian knowledge, specially appointed of God, and on which, in proportion as it shall be employed with wisdom and in faith, a peculiar blessing may be expected,—the preaching of the cross. Preaching, however, under the present circumstances of the whole mission in the Mediterranean, must, probably in most cases, be almost confined to what may be denominated 'conversational preaching', in which the missionaries, whithersoever they go, speak to all men, as proper opportunities offer, as being ambassadors of Christ, and ministers of reconciliation."

Example of a Family

It is often said, and with much truth, that the eloquence of a holy life produces a stranger impression on those who witness it, than the most feeling and weighty admonition of the lips. The example of a well-regulated christian family, where the daily sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving are offered, and the word of God made the rule of life, will be of no small value in a land of ignorance and superstition. I was much struck with the importance of this means of missionary usefulness, while visiting Mr. King, after his marriage and settlement at Tenos. Every morning and evening the solemn reading of the Holy Scriptures, accompanied with fervent prayer, the whole in Greek, and not omitted on account of the presence of company, formed a strong

but most favorable contrast to the habits of those around him; and could hardly fail to raise the American minister in their estimation. On these, as well as other grounds, I think it desirable that a missionary should be in orders. He will not only be prepared for duties, especially belonging to the ministry, when opportunities occur; but he will, even in his ordinary domestic duties be an ensample to the Greek clergy, and exalt their opinion of their Protestant brethren.

But in a variety of minor respects, a pious American family may be useful in Greece. The superior degree of order, neatness, intelligence, and industry, with which household affairs are conducted, will be like to have a happy effect upon those who dwell in the same neighborhood. In very many instances, persons of respectability have expressed to me their earnest desire that American families should settle among them, to serve as models of domestic life.

Travelling

A fixed residence is undoubtedly, in general, most favorable to missionary usefulness. As the missionaries from Syria once said to me, "it is not by one, or ten, or fifty, but by hundreds of conversations, that we have been made instrumental in producing an abiding impression on the hearts of those who have experienced the power of the truth." Still, they, with others, acknowledge, that occasional journeyings are of great value. By making excursions from time to time, the missionary extends the sphere of his acquaintance and influence. He acquires a knowledge of the peculiar exigencies of different districts; he learns where the word of God is most needed; where to forward tracts of a particular description; where schools can most advantageously be established; where light is making advancement; or where superstition and error are gaining new force. He has many opportunities of explaining and enforcing divine truth by conversations and addresses; and he may humbly hope that the word will not always go forth entirely in vain. Particular individuals often form a personal attachment to him; and even in the midst of a monastery, as I have myself experienced, he may secure no small share of favour and kindness, which will render more availing his future communications to the inmates.

Letter Writing

Acquaintances formed while traveling in various parts of the country, are often maintained by epistolary correspondence. Where a conversation has passed from the mind, an opportunity is thus afforded of making a new impression, and of suggesting many things of the highest importance to the everlasting welfare of the correspondent. I have observed that letters from a stranger were often treasured up with a great degree of care, and shown with much satisfaction, even when on ordinary topics. A few lines from Mr. King, which had been kept for many months, were thus exhibited to me; and in like manner, others from Mr. Anderson. Different individuals have requested that I would write to them, and said that they would feel it as a peculiar favour. The fact

that the reception of a letter is so gratifying, suggests, that, by a due attention to instil lessons of a practical christianity, a higher degree of respect may be secured for our own characters, and beneficial effects produced upon the minds of our readers.

Hymns and Vocal Music

A series of hymns in modern Greek, with regular harmonies adapted to them, would prove, by the divine blessing, an additional means of awakening religious sensibility, and promoting a spirit of true devotion. Though music in Greece is, at present, in a low state, there is a great and general fondness for it. I have known Greeks to attend upon missionary services for the very sake of listening to the singing. A young Greek, who had some acquaintance with English, often desired me to sing hymns to him; and on one occasion of worship, at a missionary's house, endeavoured to unite with us in bishop Kenn's beautiful evening hymn. Something in reference to this means of doing good, has already been effected, though it met at the outset, considerable opposition from a very few of the clergy. The opposition, however, was all in vain, and only afforded an additional proof of the spirit of the people to embrace every means of improvement. The commencement has been made in the public school, under the direction and patronage of government, at Ægina. I have been greatly affected at listening to the sweet strains of praise to God, flowing from the lips of these five hundred little orphan children. Through missionary influence and efforts, a considerable body of hymns may finally be formed, and this delightful mode of instilling instruction, and arousing devotional feeling be widely extended abroad.

Future Greek Council

It may not be amiss to mention here, that it is highly probable that a Greek ecclesiastical council will be summoned, at no very distant period, for the regulation, and to some extent, the reformation of the church. Many persons are of opinion, that the church in Greece will then assume an independent stand as a distinct national establishment; and that, like the church of Russia, while it remains united in communion of doctrine and worship with the patriarch of Constantinople, it will be governed by its own laws, and be subjected to the jurisdiction of spiritual rulers who acknowledge no foreign superior. Two bishops, and other individuals, both lay and clerical, have stated to me that there is a growing inclination to form some bond of union, or mode of friendly intercourse, between the Greek and other Christian churches. They say that they cherish little hope that anything can be done in regard to the Church of Rome, but that they are more sanguine as to other denominations of christians. To effect this end they are of opinion that delegates from other ecclesiastical bodies will be invited to attend the anticipated council, to compare views and concert measures. In the event of such an invitation how desirable is it that we should have men on the spot, daily securing that intimate knowledge of the language of the country, the peculiarities of the church, and the character of the clergy,

which may render them well-qualified representatives of their own denomination! Or, even if it should be deemed expedient that some clergyman of more advanced years, weight of character, and extent of learning should be commissioned for this purpose, how important will it be for him to have at his side a brother who has enjoyed the advantages of a residence of considerable length.

Opportunities of usefulness to foreigners, and especially to Mahometans

The exertions of a missionary in Greece, though chiefly directed to its own depressed but rising people, would not probably be wholly confined to them. He would often be enabled to exercise a beneficial influence over foreigners from various regions. Even in my own short tour I found such opportunities, and I have reason to bless God for the favour which he gave me in the eyes of many with whom I met. I have received various proofs of kindness and good feeling, and have even written expressions of personal regard from several individuals, and among them men of high standing and vested with public commissions.

But it is especially upon Mahometans that this influence will be most interesting and important. In Turkey itself any very direct efforts to change the faith of a follower of the prophet would prove perilous both to the christian teacher and to the individual who should seriously listen to him. But there will be no barrier to the freest intercourse in Greece. In a short period many Turks will be found visiting the sea-ports and islands of Greece for purposes of commerce, and we shall often be able to engage in conversation with them, and turn their attention to the scriptures. Bigoted, as for the most part they are, there are occasional indications that their hearts may be reached. Mr. Hartley's Turkish teacher, an aged man, wept when he read our Saviour's sermon on the Mount. A Turk called twice upon Dr. Korck, when I was in Syra, for the purpose of procuring a New Testament. Information also reached us, which seemed to be well authenticated, that there were two or three hundred professed Mahometans in Crete, who were desirous of openly avowing their preference for christianity, as soon as they could do so without peril of their lives.

Location of Missions

The present unsettled state of Greece, and the dreadful devastations to which it has been subjected, and from which it is beginning but slowly to recover, make it impossible to fix definitely upon a permanent location for the mission. There are very few places at present which would furnish even tolerable accommodations for a family. The seat of government, moreover, yet remains to be determined upon, and it will require the observation of a year or two to decide upon the locality where missionary influence may be most vigorously exerted, and from which it can most widely diffuse its influence. A large portion of the country is also at present more or less unhealthy from having lain so long uncultivated, from the accumulation of moisture in low grounds, and from various other causes. A regular system of til-

lage and drainage will rapidly lessen the insalubrity of many situations, and it can then be more easily determined where a family may be stationed with a fair prospect of enjoying health. The Islands of Spezzia and Hydra are by far the most desirable residences in regard to houses, which are well built, and, for the climate, comfortable. They probably, also, enjoy as pure an atmosphere as any other portion of the country. Their situation, however, the fact that the mass of the inhabitants are Albanian, and other circumstances, allow less scope at present for missionary operations than is desirable. The Islands of Syra and Tenos, in the midst of the Cyclades, open a much more promising field. To the former belongs the principal portion of the commerce of Greece, and here Dr. Korck is stationed with his school. The latter contains a far greater number of comfortable dwellings, and here Mr. King is at present residing with his family. In the one or the other Mr. Brewer, with his wife, and a female assistant missionary, will also take up his abode. Syra, with the exception of one small hamlet, consists of only a single town with its port of commerce. Tenos contains about 60 small villages and hamlets. They have each a few inhabitants belonging to the church of Rome. At Tenos is a large and costly church, with an image of the virgin, celebrated for its miraculous cures, resorted to by invalids from all directions, even from the interior of Asia Minor.

As a family could with more certainty immediately obtain comfortable quarters at Tenos than at Syra, I should consider this the best place at which to commence the mission. Houses are engaged by the quarter, and if, at the end of three months, it should appear desirable to remove to Syra, and accommodations could be obtained, nothing would be easier. The two towns are in sight of each other, boats are passing and repassing daily, and the sail would occupy but three or four hours.

Within a year or two a determination could probably be made as to a permanent location. Patras, Argos, Napoli, and Modon or Navarin will probably be among the most important situations in the Morea. From all that I can learn, however, Athens presents the best prospects in regard to missionary usefulness. From here there is easy access by water to all the east coast of the Morea. By crossing the narrow Isthmus of Corinth, there is again water carriage to any part of the north coast of the Morea, or the south coast of Roumelia. A large number of the islands lie directly to the south-east of it, and the important Island of Euboea or Negropont is not far distant. It is the general opinion that it will become a flourishing and populous place, and its climate is usually deemed healthy. It is, however, not important to enlarge on this point, as it must be necessarily left for future consideration.

An Additional Missionary Family

It seems to have been the practice of our blessed Saviour, in commissioning his disciples, to send them out two and two. The apostles also, endowed, as they were, with miraculous powers, usually took with them a companion. This mode of proceeding has been generally imitated by missionary societies of the present day in sending forth labourers to foreign stations.

Many reasons might be given to show the practical wisdom of this course, but two or three will be sufficient. The co-operation of two individuals will probably effect more than their separate efforts. Mutual counsel will enable them to concert and conduct their plans with more intelligence and prudence. Their christian intercourse and friendly sympathies will help to sustain each other's spirits under the trials incident to their situation. In cases of sickness the one may often attend to the special duties of the other, and, if one should be removed by death, the other could direct the necessary arrangement of his affairs. And, finally, their proximity will allow one of them occasionally to make useful excursions without any hindrance to the work at the principal station.

General Remarks

Having rehearsed the modes by which I conceive a missionary may be most useful in Greece, I have only to repeat my conviction, that to secure a large share of general good will, and an extensive field of operation, we have but to conduct ourselves with a due degree of prudence, and to make it evident that we are the friends and promoters of light and knowledge, and are not aiming to draw away members from the Greek church to constitute a distinct sect. But let the worst possible anticipations be realized;—suppose that by some peculiar combination of circumstances we are compelled to abandon Greece as missionary ground, still we need not cease from our work. The wide East is before us. Greeks and Greek churches are found in various regions out of Greece. Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Armenia are all in need of labourers, and the Armenian church is perhaps even riper than that of Greece to receive the elements of reformation. The missionary in Greece will be daily growing better qualified, by the acquisition of languages, acquaintance with oriental character, and accommodation to oriental usages, for other neighbouring stations.

Summary of My Operations

It has been my endeavour, by mingling intimately with Greeks of all classes, to secure as correct a judgment of their character and condition as possible; and I cannot but express my gratitude to that Gracious Being who so opened the hearts of the people, that I almost universally met with the most welcome reception.

I took pains also to produce a favourable impression of the missionary character and operations upon such respectable foreigners as I providentially met with, in order that their influence in their native land might be rather favourable than otherwise to the cause in which I was engaged.

I endeavoured by conversation, reading of the scriptures, and distribution of the New Testament, Psalters, and Tracts, to do good both to natives and foreigners according to my ability and opportunity.

With many of the principal clergy and laity I conversed on the subject of the constitution and condition of the church to which I belong; pointing out the degrees of its ministry, the mode of its

government, the excellency of its liturgy, and the zeal of its clergy. In regard to other denominations I deemed it proper to observe silence. One of the great arguments against Protestants among the members of the Greek church, as well as that of Rome, is the divisions which exist among us

(Here follow four paragraphs relating to personal matters. The report then concludes:)

On review of my whole agency I thank my God and Saviour that a kind providence has continually watched over me for good; that I have been preserved amid a variety of trials, fatigues and exposures to which I had never previously been subjected, and under which many others of firmer constitutions gave way, and that I have been restored to my country and friends with renewed health and strength. I would humble myself under a sense of my manifold deficiencies, acknowledging that in all things I have come short of my duty and of the glory of God, and, as in evidence of my gratitude to my heavenly benefactor, and of the renewed interest which I feel, from what I have seen and experienced, in the intellectual, moral, and spiritual condition of the Greeks, I would offer my feeble services to the society for the permanent establishment of the mission.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE POLICY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD TOWARD THE EASTERN CHURCHES

I. MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT SMYRNA. 1837.

(A Conference was held at Smyrna, September 27, to October 5, 1837, to consider how missions among the Oriental churches could best be conducted. It consisted of the following missionaries, all representing the American Board: Messrs. Temple, Adger, and Hallock of Smyrna; Messrs. King, Riggs, and Benjamin from Greece; Mr. Dwight from Constantinople; and Mr. Smith of the Mission to Syria. There was also present Mr. Calhoun, agent of the American Bible Society in the Mediterranean. A full Report is given in the *Missionary Herald*, April 1837, pp. 113-126. The following are among the more important parts of the Report).

1. Remarks on the manner of conducting missions among the nominal christians of Western Asia.

"In reviving scriptural knowledge and piety among the nominal christian sects found in the countries adjacent to the Mediterranean, where the light of revelation has become overclouded by error, and for vital godliness a round of cold and unmeaning ceremonies has been substituted, two methods present themselves;—The one is directly to expose and assault the errors and superstitious rites of the people, and attempt to compel them by argument to abandon their false refuges and embrace the truth:—The other is to hold up clearly before their minds the doctrines and precepts of the Bible, in their spiritual meaning and application, and press on their attention the importance of holiness of heart and life, but without making any direct attack on their present systems of belief or their ceremonial observances, supposing that when the leading truths of the gospel shall be understood and received by them, their errors and heartless formalities will soon be renounced.

The former method of proceeding would obviously give most notoriety to the mission, awaken most attention, call forth most opposition, and might, perhaps, lead most speedily to some de-

cisive results. According to the latter method the missionary would prosecute his labors in a more quiet and unostentatious manner, would attract less attention from those in authority, would have more free access to the people, would encounter less of prejudice, and might hope to lay a broader foundation for the ultimate overthrow of error and establishment of the truth.

The missionary must probably adopt one of these courses and pursue it almost exclusively; for when he has once entered into controversy on these points where the people are so sensitive, he cannot easily retire from it, or set limits beyond which he will not pass. To decide which course he will follow, or to which he will most incline, is obviously an important step; for it must give a character to his public preaching, to his intercourse with the people, to the books he publishes, to the schools he establishes, and, in short, must essentially modify his whole system of labor. It has of course been a topic of much thought and discussion among the missionaries of the Board in the Mediterranean, and their attention has been repeatedly called to it by the correspondence of the Secretaries. In regard to the scriptural and proper method of proceeding they seem to have been of one mind. (*Missionary Herald*, p. 117, April 1838).

A significant paper was read at this Conference by the Rev. Eli Smith of the Syrian Mission, dealing with "the manner of treating the errors of nominally christian sects, and of presenting scriptural truths to their minds." This is found in the same issue of the *Missionary Herald* (1838). It includes (p. 125) a section, as under, on

2. Mode of proceeding in regard to Church Organizations.

"In reference to leaving converts in connection with their churches. I have long considered three points as clear. 1. That we ought to admit them to our communion, if they wish it, as *guests*, upon the principle of open communion. 2. That if any are excommunicated from their own churches, for the truth, we may admit them as members to our church. 3. The same may be done in regard to those who can no longer in conscience remain in their own churches. I have never advised any to continue the performance of their church ceremonies. If they chose to commune in the church (I speak particularly of the Greeks), I have never objected. I have had a desire that they should, if they could do it conscientiously and not transgress the Scriptures. Whether they can, I have left to themselves to decide, knowing that there are now in the Greek church in Russia a considerable number of pious persons, and that there have been such in the Latin church in latter days. That they would thereby compromise themselves with idolatry, I do not think so easily decided. I know the opinions of our native brethren at Beyroot. The native brethren at Constantinople think differently; and the latter are, for aught I can see, as valuable men as the other. That to partake in idolatry is a great sin, a fatal sin, I have no doubt; though

I do not think that the passage in I Cor. 1:11, against associating with idolaters religiously is exactly to the point.

On the feelings and aims which missionaries should have in regard to the churches now existing, Mr. Smith remarks—

On this point the language I hold with the natives has no ambiguity. In fact I have not often spoken of it. Let a recent conversation with an intelligent influential native of Beyroot, whom I lately met at Constantinople, show my manner. I sought an interview for the purpose. I told him our object was not to build up a sect of our own, nor did we wish any injury to the Greek church. Our object was higher than ecclesiastical; it was the salvation of souls. Whether men belonged to one church or another was a matter of very little consequence with us. I wished his church would be liberal enough to allow its members to live in peace, and still do nothing unscriptural, or contrary to their consciences. In that case all the influence we obtained, and the good we did, would be so much done for his church; that is, for its interest . . .”

II. A REPRESENTATIVE MISSIONARY OPINION.

The Missionary Herald for April 1836 (p. 134) in connection with the Report of the Smyrna Conference calls attention to the views of the Rev. William Schauffler regarding the Oriental churches. Mr. Schauffler had gone under the American Board to engage in mission work among the Jews of Constantinople. These were displaying a spirit of inquiry regarding Christianity similar to that manifested among the Armenians, but “Jewish inquirers have much more to dread from the watchful and persecuting opposition of their brethren according to the flesh.” There being no Protestant church to which converts from Judaism could be invited, Mr. Schauffler’s method was to direct them to join the Greek church or the Armenian. In this letter, dated March 7th 1835, (*Missionary Herald*, April 1836, 134-140) he explained and justified his position.

Impracticability of establishing a separate Church for Jews

It may excite wonder that I have sent Isaac ben Usiah and his son among the Armenians. Why send them to a people who are themselves the objects of the labors of our society? Why increase the numbers of a church, which needs a thorough reformation itself? Why not, either receive these converted Jews into our church, if they are converted, and if not, why permit them to enter any church at all? To these inquiries, I am aware, I owe a mature and definite reply, and I will endeavor to give it now.

Under the existing circumstances, when every subject of the Ottoman empire must belong to a religious denomination whose head and representative is responsible for his, the subject's, conduct, three courses only can conceivably be pursued in laboring for the conversion of individual Jews. They must either, 1. Be left among their nation until they are fit subjects for admission into the christian church; or, 2. They must be separated from the Jewish community, and gathered secretly into a catechetical school, until they either can be baptised, or should be dismissed as unpromising subjects; or, 3. They can be united with the Armenian or Greek churches, whose terms of admission are easy, as we all know. . . .

(He shows '1' to be out of the question because of probable persecution, by their fellows, of Jews who are known to have been even visiting Christian teachers. '2' is impracticable because owing to the millet system, a converted Jew could have no legal protection. Only if the school in which they were enrolled was kept secret could they hope to escape the fury of their Jewish brethren; but such a procedure would be unwise, and not morally good for the inquirers. "Reproach rests upon them, and who will receive them?" The letter continues:)

But if all these difficulties should be removed, suppose, then, a number of these inquirers should prove true converts, and disciples of Jesus, they cannot be publicly received into a Frank church. While the representatives of the respective denominations of individuals are responsible to the porte for the conduct of the latter, a *rayah*, or subject, can never be permitted by government to join a Frank church. For the grand seignor has no power over the head of a foreign church denomination, or nation—and these terms are synonymous here at present—to hold them responsible for anything; and every *rayah* who means to change his religion, must therefore necessarily join another religious body of *rayahs* or subjects, or become a Mussulman. Otherwise he is in reality no longer a subject of the porte. And if it be said, Let such individuals flee, and join a pious orthodox church abroad, I answer that I must consider it improper to subduct a subject from his sovereign, unless the latter has violated his own moral obligations towards him; but the Jews are treated here with great lenity. Scripture passages belonging to this subject will readily occur to you. And again, A repeated subduction of persons must ultimately come out, and then prove deleterious, if not ruinous, to all our missions in these countries. Again, Christian churches, organized upon our principles, are hardly, and I believe not at all found short of England, or America. But if such men are to join some Lutheran church, or any other, in which baptism and confirmation are the conditions of church-membership, why should they not as well join the Armenian or Greek churches here.

The objections that these churches are more superstitious, and farther from the truth than the most lax protestant church, will be answered under the next head of the general subject. Again, Such refugees can get foreign protection (which then becomes absolutely requisite) only, either by going to foreign countries and fulfilling the conditions of admission, which must in all cases be extremely inconvenient and expensive,—or by resorting to some lawless place to procure forged passports by bribery—a means, of the injustice of which there can be but one opinion among the moral.

Reasons for directing Jewish Converts to the Armenian and Greek Churches

My conviction, therefore, is, that, while circumstances remain as they are, Jewish converts should be turned into the Armenian church, or into the Greek, according as they may prefer the one or the other. Some of the apparent disadvantages of this course will be removed by the positive reasons which have led me to propose it. After having stated them, let the remaining real disadvantages of it be compared with the difficulties of the first two methods, and then let the easier and more promising course be selected, and I shall most cheerfully acquiesce in the decision.

After noticing the Scriptural view of the conditions of church membership, and stating that the entrance of Jews into the Armenian church would not interfere with their political relations, or with their means of obtaining support, Mr. Schauffler proceeds to state a (further) reason for this course.

In regard to the objection, that thus young converts are thrown into a corrupt church, it may be replied, that, as a matter of fact, Jewish converts are not at all apt to join in those superstitions and idolatries which defile the eastern churches. They rather oppose and expose them, and thus, so far as their influence goes, they prove a salt and leaven among these misguided people. They are known to keep no lent, as a general thing, and to bow down to no picture, and to believe nothing but what the Scriptures say; and yet nobody has a word to say against them. There is no necessity laid upon them in the Armenian and Greek church to practice any thing wrong. If they are truly pious, they may love and serve Christ without any one to molest them. And if they understand any language in which they can have access in some chapel to the preaching of the gospel, nobody forbids them to attend as regularly as they please. They will generally be indulged with much peculiar liberty. The Armenians, for instance, told their Jewish converts repeatedly, that if they wished to attend to prayers and to the reading of the Scriptures in church, in the Hebrew language, they might do it freely; and they begged them even, to be careful not to lose their language, and expressed a desire and intention to become acquainted with it themselves.

III. Here reference may be made to the Instructions to the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin on "Objects of the Missions to the Oriental Churches and the means of prosecuting them" in *Missionary Herald* (1839), 39-44.

IV. LEADING OBJECT OF THE MISSIONS TO THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Board, September 1842, a paper on the above subject was read by the Secretary, Dr. Rufus Anderson. (*Annual Report*, 1842, 54-57) The subject was then referred to a committee which made the following report and Resolution duly adopted by the Board (*ibid.*, 57-58):

1. The question whether the existing Oriental churches, so called, are to be reformed and revived, or subverted and destroyed in the progress of Christ's kingdom, is a question which it is not necessary for us or for our missionary brethren to determine now, but which will be determined by time and the development of God's providence.

2. The great object of our missions to the Oriental christian communities, should be the revival of spiritual religion, the conversion of souls to Christ, the wide diffusion of the great regenerative idea of justification by faith alone, and not a controversy with the hierarchies of those communities about particular institutions, forms, and ceremonies.

3. Great caution is necessary on the part of the missionaries, lest any thing done by them or by their converts and pupils, be understood as implying some compromise with the idolatrous or superstitious practices.

4. Whenever those Oriental churches, having had the Gospel fairly proposed to them, shall reject it, excising and casting out from their communion those who receive it,—as the Jewish church excised and expelled the primitive believers,—and as the Romish church excised and expelled the Reformers,—then it will be necessary for our missionary brethren to turn from them as apostate, to shake off the dust of their feet as a testimony against them, and to call on all God's children to come out from among them and not to be partakers of their plagues.

5. The action of the missionaries among those ancient and benighted christian communities, seems to be, thus far, in accordance with the foregoing principles. In this respect, then, we think that their action and that of the Prudential Committee under whose advice and approbation they have acted, has been wise and faithful.

The committee, therefore recommend the adoption of the accompanying resolution.

All which is respectfully submitted in behalf of the committee.

Resolved, That the object of evangelical missions to the Oriental churches, is and ought to be the revival of spiritual religion by the republication of the doctrines of grace, and not the propagation of particular forms of church organization or of worship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The list given below consists of books found specially useful in the research undertaken. Additional references are given in the footnotes. Some of the more important writings in modern Greek on this subject are given in a separate bibliography.

- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Annual Reports*.
- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Reply of the Missionaries of the American Board at Constantinople to the Charges of the Rev. Horatio Southgate*. Boston, 1844.
- Anderson, Rufus, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*. 2 vols. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872.
- Andrews, Charles W., *Historic Notes of Protestant Missions to the Oriental Churches*. Richmond, Va., 1866.
- Birkbeck, W. J., *Russia and the English Church*. London: Rivington, Percival and Co., 1895. (Containing the correspondence of William Palmer, of Magdalen College, and Alexis Khomiakoff, 1844-1854).
- Denison, S. D., *History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. Vol. I (i. e. to the year 1835). New York, 1871.
- Dwight, H. G. O., *Christianity in Turkey*. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854. (Being a revision of his earlier work, *Christianity Revived in the East*, New York, 1850.)
- Fraser, William, (Editor), *Reports made to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, by the Committee on Intercommunion with the Orthodox Eastern Churches*. 1865-1869.
- The same, for 1870-1872. Also for 1874-1876. Issued as *Occasional Papers*, Nos. viii, ix, x, New Series of the Eastern Church Association. Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1904.
- Gammell, William, *History of American Baptist Missions*. Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1854.
- Prime, E. D. G., *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, or, Memoirs of the Reverend William Goodell, D. D., Late Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople*. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876.
- Protestant Episcopal Church, *Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Annual and Triennial Reports*.

Protestant Episcopal Church, *Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.*

Southgate, Horatio, *Letter to a Friend, in reply to a recent pamphlet from the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Constantinople.* New York, 1845.

Southgate, Horatio, *Vindication of the Rev. Horatio Southgate: a letter to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, from the Rev. Horatio Southgate, their Missionary at Constantinople.* New York: Stanford and Swords, 1844.

Stone, John S., *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Griswold, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Eastern Diocese.* Philadelphia: Staveley and McCalla, 1844.

Strong, William E., *The Story of the American Board.* Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910.

Tracy, Joseph, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.* 2nd Edition. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842.

Williams, George, *The Orthodox Church in the East in the Eighteenth Century* (Title on Cover: *The Orthodox and the Non-Jurors*). London, 1868.

Wordsworth, Rt. Rev. John, *Bishop of Salisbury: The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates.* (Occasional Paper No. II, of the Eastern Church Association). Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1902.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Relating to the years dealt with in this work:

Churchman, New York

Missionary Herald (A. B. C. F. M.), Boston, Massachusetts

Missionary Magazine (American Baptist), New York

Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia

New York Observer

Spirit of Missions, New York.



Some of the more important *Modern Greek authorities* consulted.
Αιών (Newspaper)

Ἀθηνᾶ (Newspaper).

Ἀπάντησις εἰς τὰς κατ' Ἀγγλων καὶ Ἀγγλοαμερικανῶν ἀποστολῶν
παρατηρήσεων τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς.
Ἐν Σμύρνῃ, 1836.

- Ἀνδροῦτσος, Χρήστος, Δοκίμιον Συμβολικῆς ἐξ ἐπόψεως
Ὁρθοδόξου. 1901.
- Ἀστὴρ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ἐν Ἀθήναις. (Periodical).
- Βάμβας, Νεόφυτος, Σύντομος ἀπάντησις πρὸς τὸν ὑποκριτό-
μενον ὑπὸ Ζ. Π. Ρ. πατέρα τῆς πρὸ ὀλίγου διαδοθείσης
ἀναισχύντου ἐπιστολῆς, κ. τ. λ. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1836.
- Γεδεών, Μανουὴλ Ι., Κανονικαὶ Διατάξεις, Ἐπιστολαί, Λύσεις,
Θεσπίσματα, τῶν Ἀγιωτάτων Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1888, 1889. (Edited by M. I. Gedeon,
Two volumes; Volume two especially important).
- Γεδεών, Μανουὴλ Ι., Πατριαρχικῆς Ἱστορίας Μνημεῖα. Α':
Γρηγορίου Ε' 9 Διάδοχοι. (Χειρόγραφον ἐκδιδόμενον
ἐπιμελεία Μανουὴλ Ιω. Γεδεών. Ἀθήνησι, 1922).
- Γιαννόπουλος, Στέφανος, Συλλογὴ τῶν Ἐγκυκλίων τῆς Ἱερᾶς
Συνόδου (1833 - 1901). Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1901.
- Δουβουνιώτης, Κ. Ι., Τὰ Μυστήρια τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου
Ἐκκλησίας, ἐξ ἀπόψεως Δογματικῆς. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1913.
- Εὐαγγελικὴ Σάλπιγξ. 1835 etc. (Periodical guided chiefly
by K. Oikonomos) Athens.
- Ζ. Π. Ρ., Τίς ὁ ὑποκεκρυμμένος σκοπὸς τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
Ἱεραποστολῶν τῆς βιβλικῆς Ἑταιρίας. Ἀνοικτὴ ἐπιστολὴ
πρὸς Π. Κ. Μ. Ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ Παρισίοις, 1836.
- Ζωλότας, Ὑπόμνημα περὶ τῆς Μεταφράσεως τῶν Γραφῶν.
- Κίνγ, Ἰωνᾶς, Διάφορα Ἰωνᾶ Κίνγ, Συγγραφέντα κατὰ διαφόρους
καιροὺς καὶ τόπους. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1859.
- Κουλουριώτης, Α. Γ., Ἡ Βρετανικὴ καὶ ἀλλοδαπὴ Βιβλικὴ
Ἑταιρία, ἡ Βίβλος, καὶ αἱ Ἐγκύκλιοι τῆς Συνόδου καὶ
τοῦ Ὑπουργείου. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1876.
- Κυριακίδης, Ε. Κ., Ἱστορία τοῦ Συγχρόνου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, 1832-1892,
2 vols., Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1892.
- Λαμπρόπουλος, Κυριακός, καὶ Νικόλαος, Χ., Μισσιοναρισμός
καὶ Προτεσταντισμός. Ἐν Σμύρνῃ, 1836.
- Οἰκονόμου, Κωνσταντῖνος, Τὰ Σωζόμενα Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ Συγγράμα-
τα. 3 volumes. Ἀθήνησι, 1862-4-6.
- Παπαδόπουλος, Χρυσόστομος Α. Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς
Ἑλλάδος. Τόμος πρῶτος: Ἰδρυσις καὶ Ὁργάνωσις τῆς
Αὐτοκεφάλου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1920.

Σκαλτσούνης, Ι., 'Ο Προσηλυτισμὸς ἐν τῇ 'Ανατολῇ. (Article
in the 'Ανάπλασις periodical, 1898, No. 8)

Φαρμακίδης, Θεόκλητος, 'Απολογία. 'Εν 'Αθήναις, 1840.

Χαμοδόπουλος, Μ. Δ., Οἱ ἐν τῇ 'Ανατολῇ Μισσιονάριοι τοῦ
Προτεσταντισμοῦ. Κωνσταντινούπολις, 1882.

INDEX

- Aberdeen, Earl of, 104
- Aeon, Greek newspaper, 25, 25n., 30, 84n., 154
- Alaska, Purchase of by U. S., 11
 - Orthodox in, 12
- Alexopoulos, Bishop Joachim, 162n.
- American and Foreign Bible Society (Baptist), 132
- American and Foreign Christian Union, 150
- American Baptist Mission to Greece, 120-133
 - Bible translation difficulties, 131-132
 - Eastern Churches, Attitude toward, 130, 132
 - Educational work, 124
 - First Baptism, 124
 - Hostility aroused, 125-127
- American Bible Society, 132, 141n.
- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
 - Chapter IV (71-107); 124, 152
 - Armenian Mission, 86-94
 - Brewer, relation to Rev. J. 114f. 116f.
 - Constantinople Mission, 73
 - Greece, Mission to, 74-86
 - Jews in the Levant, Mission to, 73, 73n.
 - Missionary policy, 105f., documents in Appendix to Chapter IV
 - Nestorian Mission, 74
- "American Religion", 13
- American University of Beirut (Syrian Protestant College), 71, 71n.
- Anderson, Rufus, 59, 99
- Andrews, Charles Wesley, 23n., 32, 32n., 62, 122
- Anglo-Catholics, 94-105
- Anglican Church, see Church of England
- Anglicanism, "Comprehension" Ideal, 158f.
 - Schools in, 159
- Anglo-American Joint Committee, 7
- Anglo-Catholic, see Tractarian
- Anglophil or Liberal party in Greece, 24
- Apocrypha, controversy regarding, 99n.
- Armenians, 38, 45-47, 50, 57f., 64, 86-94
 - American Board and, 86-94
 - Armenian Church, revival of, 86
 - Confession of Faith, Patriarchal, 88
 - Episcopal Mission to, 45ff.
 - Evangelicals, persecution of, 86f.
 - Protestant "Millet", 89f.
 - Scottish Church re, 102f.
- Armenian Evangelical Church, 89-94
 - Affirmations, 89f.
 - Protestant name accidental, 90
- Arnold, Albert N., 122-124, 128, 133
- Arpee, Leon, 88, 94
- Article XIX, of the Thirty Nine Articles, 8

202 AMERICAN CONTACTS WITH THE EASTERN CHURCHES

Assyrian Mission of Episcopal Church, 36, 37

Athena, newspaper, 25, 30

Athens, condition in 1830, 19

Bacon, Leonard, 109

Badger, George Percy, 36n., 60, 95f., 95n., 105

Americans, opposition to, 96ff.

Instructions and Letter to, 95, 96

Nestorians, delegate to, 95

Bambas, Neophytus, 75, 75n., 131

Baptists, American, see American Baptists

Basis of Union, 85, 155

Bedell, Gregory Townsend, 17

Bible Society, British and Foreign, 13, 78

Apocrypha, controversy re, 99, 99n.

Baptists, difficulty with, 131f.

"Baptizo", way of translating, 132

Bible in Modern Greek, 78, 79

Bingham, Solomon, 18

Bird, Isaac, 72, 72n.

Bishop, Office of 47-49

Bliss, Daniel, 72

Blomfield, Bishop Charles J., 43, 95

Bolles, Lucius, 130n.

Brewer, Josiah, 106n., 110-120

Anti-Slavery interests, 113f.

Biographical Notes, 110f., 115n.

Eastern Churches, attitude to, 119

Journalistic ventures, 111

Seamen's Friend Society, 112, 112n.

Bryce, James, on California

Character, 5n.

Buel, Rufus, 122, 124f., 130

Bunsen, Christian Charles Josias, Baron von, 91, 91n.

Calendar, 23n.

California:

Orthodox (Russian) Church in, 5, 6

Problem for Episcopal Church in, 5, 6

Canning, Sir Stratford (Lord Stratford de Redclyffe), 87, 92n., 92-94, 102n., 103f.

Capodistrias, Count John, 21n.

Catholic, see Roman Catholic

Charter Oak, Abolitionist Paper edited by Brewer, 114

Charters, Ottoman, 91

Children's Newspaper edited by M. D. Kalopothakes, 142, 151

Christian Freeman, Abolitionist Paper edited by Brewer, 114

Church of England: Constantinople, Church in, 7

Episcopal Church, joint Committee with, 1

Relations with Eastern Church, 11, 42

Church Missionary Society, 13, 21, 28, 41n., 94, 97n.

Clerical dress of A. B. Missionaries, 160f.

College in Greece, projected by Jonas King, 75

- Congregationalists, Preface, 60
Connecticut Observer, Abolitionist Paper edited by J. Brewer, 114
 Constantine, George, 84, 143, 143n., 151f.
 Constantinople, Anglican Church in, 7
 Protestant Episcopal Mission to, Chapter III
 Converts, Protestantism Problem of, 166
 Council of Ephesus, Canon vii, 85, 155f., 156n.
 Covel, John (1671-1678), 9
 Cowley, Lord, 92, 104
 Coxe, Arthur Cleveland, 44n., 106n.
 Creed, Nicene (Niceno-Constantinopolitan), 85, 89, 147
 Crete, Protestant Episcopal Mission to, 31n., 44
 Critopoulous, Metrophanes, 9

 Delancey, Bishop William Heathcote, 31, 32
 Dickson, Harriet E., 122
 Douglas, Lord Howard, 81
 Dwight, Harrison G. Otis, 38, 60, 73, 73n., 101n., 105
 Dyovouniotes, Constantine, 164f.
 Eastern Church, 15, 23, 34, 36, 41
 Memorial, 11f.
 Eastern Church Association, 11f., 11n., 12
 Eastern Church population in U. S., 162n.
 "Economy", Principle of, 164f.
 Education among the Greeks, 21f., 21n.
 Encyclical of Gregory VI, 25, 28
 Ephesus, Canon VII of Council of, see Council
 Episcopacy, 40
 Episcopal, Advantages re Eastern Church, 158, 158n.
 Disadvantages, 158
 Episcopal Church, Chapter II and III
 Armenian Work, 45, 46
 Assyrian Mission, 36, 37
 Committee re Russo-Greek Church, 7
 Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 15f.
 Eastern Church, attitude to, 15
 End of Near East Mission, 69
 Evangelicals in, 43
 General Convention of 1862, 5
 Episcopal Principle, 40, 47, 52, 65, 94
 Evangelicals, 40, 43, 54f., 60

 "Farewell Letter" of Jonas King, 74f., 76n., 86
 Filioque, 9, 147
 Fisk, Pliny, 71, 71n.
 Foreign Committee of P. E. Church, see Episcopal Church
 Freemasonry, 126, 126n.
Friend of Youth, Greek Paper edited by Josiah Brewer, 111

 General Theological Seminary, New York, 51
 Gloucester Hall, Oxford, see Greek College
 Gobat, Bishop Samuel, 93, 93n.
 Goodell, William, 72, 72n.

Gorchakoff, Prince, 84n.

Grant, Asahel, 74, 74n.

on G. P. Badger, 98, 99

"Great Idea" of the Greeks, 78

Greece, cause of, 17, 17n.

Greece, State of Post-Revolutionary, 17

Greek Church

Bible Translations, 79

Constitution of 1852, 26n.

Independence of, 81

Septuagint Version of O. T., 79

Significance during Turkish oppression, 78

"Greek College" Oxford, 9

Greek Evangelical Church, Chapter VI

Congregational polity in Turkey, 136

History and Present State, 136f.

Position of Evangelicals, 137, 137n.

Presbyterian polity and connections, 135f., 152

Greek Mission of P. E. Church, 17, 31f.

Gregory VI, Ecumenical Patriarch, 24, 27, 29

Encyclical against Missionaries, 24, 27, 29

Griswold, Bishop Alexander Viets, 22, 39, 40, 57n., 64

"Gymnasium", founded by Jonas King, 77

Hamlin, Cyrus, Instructions to, Appendix to Chapter IV

Hartford Theological Seminary, 51n.

Hewit, Augustus F., 51, 51n.

Hildner, F., 21n., 28, 28n.

Hill, Mrs. Hill (Frances Mulligan), 18, 29

Hill, John Henry (1791-1882), 18-34

Educational Work, 21f., 78

Instructions to, 22

Memorial Service, 33

Newspaper attacks, 25, 29

Policy re School, 28f.

Hill's School

Estimate, 34

Normal School, 22

Period of Conflict, 22ff.

Religious teaching, 23, 29

Historic Notes, see C. W. Andrews

Houston, S., 138

Howe, Samuel Gridley, 151, 151n.

Howley, Archbishop William, 95f., 101, 102, 103

Immigrant Situation in the West, 162, 162n.

Instructions, Missionary, 22f., 38f., 43, 57, 57n., 64f., 67 122n., 130;

Appendix to chapter IV

Misinterpreted, 57, 57n., 63f.

Ionian Islands, unrest in, 81

Jacobite Church, 37ff.

Jerusalem Bishopric, 49, 49n., 61, 93n., 105

- Jews in the Levant, 73, 110, 193
 Jowett, William, 16n.
- Kairis, Theophilus, 27, 27n.
- Kalopothakes, Michael D., 84, 84n., 138-150
 American leanings, 148f., 149n.
 Anglo-Saxon influence, 148
 Bible Societies representative, 141
 Broadway Tabernacle Speech, 139f., 145n.
 Editorial Work, 140f., 142, 148
 Ephesus, Canon VII, 155
 Nicene Creed, 147, 155
 Presbyterian Orders, 140
 Union Theological Seminary, student at, 138n., 140, 140n., 146
- Khomiakoff, (Khomyakov) Alexis, 159
- King, Jonas, 12, 18, 25, 26, 31, 71, 72n., 74-86, 84n., 149, 149n., 150, 151
 Bible Circulation, 78f.
 Bibliography of, 76n.
 Council of Ephesus, 85
 Death of, 12
 Educational work and plans, 75f., 75n.
 Excommunication, 82
 Farewell Letter, 74f., 86
 Nicene Creed, 85
 Orthodoxy of, 85
 Trial of, 82-84, 128, 139, 140
- Korck, C. L., 21
- Kritopoulos, Metrophanes, 9
- Kyriakos, Anastasios, on Hill, 33
- Lancasterian plan, 117n.
- Leyburn, G. W., 138
- Literature on Eastern Christendom, 165f.
- Love, Horace T., 121, 124
- Lukar, Cyril, 9
- Lyons, Sir Edmund, 83
- Marsh, Hon. George P., 83
- Masson, Bessie, 33n.
- Masson, Edward, of Edinburgh, 33, 122n.
- Matteos, Armenian Patriarch, 87-90, 103f.
 Anathema on Protestants, 87f.
- Mesopotamian Mission, 45
- Miles, J. W., 45, 53, 59
- "Millet" System in Ottoman Empire, 90
- "Mission School", J. H. Hill's, 23
- "Missionary Bishop" advocated, 47-49
- Missionary Instructions, see Instructions
- Missionary Societies working in the Levant, 16n., 18n.
- Moschou, Xenophon, 137n.
- Muir, Marion, 32
- Mulligan, Elizabeth & Frederica, 18n.

- Nestorian Patriarch, visit to U. S. A., 74n.
 Nestorians, 36, 36n., 56, 95
 New Haven Ladies Greek Association, 109-120
 Nicene Orthodoxy, 85
 Non-Episcopal Christianity, attitude toward, 51
 Non-Jurors' Episode, 9
- Oikonomos, Constantine (1780-1857), 27, 41n., 75, 80
 "Orgies, The", Constantine Simonides, 82f., 82n.
 Orthodox Church, National Factor in, 78
 Orthodox Liturgy in English, 162, 162n.
 Otho, King, Expulsion of, 84
 Oxford Movement, 51, 95; See also under Tractarianism
- Papoulakos, Monk, 81
 Parsons, Levi, 71, 71n.
 Pasco, Cephas, 121, 124
 Patriarchal Theological School, Constantinople, 25
 Patriarchs, see under Gregory VI, Matteos
 Paulist Fathers, 51n.
 Paxton, J. D., 105
 Penny, Samuel, 53
 Perkins, Justin, 74, 74n.
 Persia, American Board Mission to, 74, 74n.
 Peshtimaljian, Gregory, 86
 Pharmakides, Theokletos (1784-1866), 25f.
 Conflict with patriarchate, 80
 Philemon, Timoleon, 25n., 128, 143
 Philorthodox Society, 81, 83n.
 Ponsonby, Lord, 27, 81
 Porter, Commodore, 83
 Protestant Episcopal Church, see Episcopal
 Protestant Missionaries opposed, 24
 Protestants in Greece, Chapter VI; 135-138
 Presbyterian Church in Greece, Southern, 150
 Presbyterianism, Old and New Schools, 112
- Reunion, Christian, 13f.
 Reynolds, Mary (Mrs. Wm. G. Schaufler), 110
 Richmond, James C., on Bishops for Mediterranean, 48f.
 Richter, Julius quoted, 107n.
 Riggs, Elias, 72, 72n., 79n.
 Robertson, John J. (1796-1881), 17, 17n., 18n., 20f., 37
 On Bishops for Mediterranean, 48
 Report on proposed mission to Greece, Appendix II
 Roman Catholics, in Turkey, 87, 91, 105, 107
 In Greece, 82
 Royal Commission on Prayer Book, 17th Century, 9
 Ruggles, Hon. Samuel B., 8
 Russian Criticism of Anglican Church, 159
 Russo-Greek Committee of P. E. Ch., 8, 10-12
 Russian Church in California, 6

- Russophil or Orthodox party in Greece, 24
 Rycaut, Sir Paul (1678). 9
- Sakellarios, Demetrius Z., 84, 129n., 151
 Schauffler, William G., 73, 73n., Appendix to Chapter IV
 Schauffler, Mrs. Wm. G. (Mary Reynolds), 110
 Scottish Episcopal Church, 103
 Seamen's Friend Society, Brewer's connection, 112, 112n.
 Septuagint Version, 79
 Simonides, Constantine, 82f., 82n., 83
 Skinner, William D., Primus of Scottish Episcopal Church, 102, 103
 Slavery Question, Brewer's interest in, 113f.
 Smith, Eli, 73, 73n.
 Smith, Thomas (1668-1671), 9
 Smyrna, site selected by J. Brewer, 116f.
 Southern Presbyterian Church of America, 150
 Southgate, Horatio, Chapter III
 Attitude to American Board Work, 68, 69
 Bishop, office of, 47f.
 Character of, 67-69
 Church of England, 101
 Conflict of American Board with, 54ff.
 Consecrated Bishop, 49
 "Evangelical" period, 56
 Defends Armenian Church, 60
 "Instructions" to, 38-40, 63f.
 Letter to Sir Stratford Canning, 103f.
 Letter to Earl of Aberdeen, 104
 Papacy, 67
 Relation to Foreign Committee, 50
 Relations with G. P. Badger, 60, 100
 Reply of, 55f.
 Tractarian Period, 54ff., 105
 Work among Armenians, 46f., 50f., 57ff.
 Work among the Greeks, 37-40
Star of the East (M. D. Kalopothakes), 141, 148-150
Star of the East, and Friend of Youth (J. Brewer), 111
 Statistics, Eastern Church in U. S. A., 162, 162n.
 Sultan's Pledges to Protestants, 87
 Sunday Schools in Greece, Protestant, 142
 Syrian Mission of the American Board, 72
 Syrian Protestant College (American University of Beirut), 72, 72n.
- Taylor, S. A., 45, 53, 59
 Tenos, Island of, Missionary Station, 18
 Termini in this work, 10-12
 Theological Seminaries' responsibility, 165
 Thirty Nine Articles, Article XIX, 8
 Thrall, S. C., Resolution proposed, 5f.
 Tomlinson, George, 37, 41, 42, 47, 57, 94, 101, 105
 Cooperation with Greek Church urged, 41f., 41n.
 Oikonomos, referred to by, 41n.
 Patriarchal visit, 40, 41n., 42

208 AMERICAN CONTACTS WITH THE EASTERN CHURCHES

Tractarian Theology, 32, 49, 51, 52, 66f., 67n., 67, 95, 96, 105, 119
Traveller, The edited by J. Brewer, 111

Union Missionary Herald, edited by J. Brewer, 114
Article on Missionary Policy re, Oriental Churches, 119
Union Missionary Society, 113-115
Union Theological Seminary, New York, 140, 140n., 146
University of Greece, National, 76

Vaughan, John A., 39, 64
Vatican Council, 10
Virginia Synod of the Southern Presbyterian Church, 150

Waldo, Sarah Emily (Mrs. J. York), 122, 122n.
Walworth, Clarence E., 51, 51n.
Wake, Archbishop W., 9
Webster, Daniel, re Greek Revolution, 16n., 83, 83n.
Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries at Zante, 18n.
Western Foreign Missionary Society (later, The Presbyterian Board
of Missions), 111, 111n.
J. Brewer's connection, 111, 111n.
White, Bishop William (1748-1836), 18n.
Williams, George, 11n.
Worcester College Oxford, see Greek College, 9
Wordsworth, Bishop Christopher, 7, 19, 19n.
Wordsworth, Bishop John, 10n., 11n.

Young, John P. of Russo-Greek Committee, 8

**BV 3147 Shaw, Plato Erne-
st, 1883-
c.2 American conta-
cts with the
Eastern churches,
1820-1870,**

959-6422



28 427 894

BV 3147 Shaw, Plato Ernest,
•S53 st, 1883-
c.2 American contacts with the
Eastern churches,
1820-1870,

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



28 427 894